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1964-65 NUMBER TWO

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THE TENTATIVE LONG-TERM PLAN FOR THE WELFARE OF BACKWARD CLASSES IN 4TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN ORISSA

The stupendous task before the Government of Orissa is to bring its backward communities at par with the general population of the State in matters of education, economic upliftment, health and sanitation, etc. According to 1961 Census, Orissa has got a total population of 17,348,846 out of which population of the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes comes to 4,221,797 and 2,763,838, respectively. The population of the Scheduled Tribes alone works out to 24.07 per cent of the total population, which next to Naga Lands, is of the highest order among the States of India. The population of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes taken together comes to 5,987,635 which works out to 39.80 per cent of the total population.

There are 62 tribes some of whom are in the lowest stage of socio-economic and educational development. Recently the tribes of the State have been categorised according to economic gradations. But of the 62 tribes some tribes like the Hillbondas, Lanjantars, Kutia Konds, Mithjungs, etc., occupying different areas of the State area in a state of extreme backwardness and they represent the most backward 'A' category tribes. Their population comes to more than 2½ lakhs. The other tribes are either in a stage of transition or already assimilated with the general community.

But on the whole the economic condition of all the tribes, more or less, is at a marginal stage. In view of the vast population of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and their economic and educational backwardness the State Government are confronted with serious problems for social and economic advancement of these backward communities.

In the past efforts had been made to improve the condition of the vast mass of backward population. Owing to various causes, the chief among which was the financial limitations, progress has been rather tardy. In the meantime particularly in tribal areas some phenomenal changes have taken place. Heavy industries and multipurpose projects have been and are being located in tribal areas. This has disturbed and displaced the tribal life and its economy. The Rourkela Steel Plant, Hirakud Dam, the Agro-Engine Factory, Balimela Dam, the Tikarpada Project are only a few of the Major Projects undertaken in tribal areas in the State. In Koraput district vast tribal areas have been reclaimed for the settlement of East Bengal Refugees under the Dandakaranya Project. All this have had far reaching effects on the life and psychology of tribals who are living under age exploitation, on bare subsistence economy. It has, therefore, been necessary to look at

the tribal problems in the above context. It is felt that comprehensive programmes much wider than what has been attempted in the past are necessary for the 4th Plan period. The 3rd Plan outlay was of the order of Rs. 841.67 lakhs only. In view of the Central Working Group of backward classes' indication of the probable outlay of Rs. 250-275 crores for the 4th Plan period, the working group on long-term plan for backward classes in the State considered that the pace of development in the different sectors of improvement, viz., education, economic uplift, health and sanitation, etc., need be accelerated with adequate funds both under the State and the Central Sectors. The Working Group considered that in the tribal areas where large scale industries and projects are being established, it is necessary to train up the tribal youths to acquire technical skill in large numbers. The aspirations of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for higher education have to be fulfilled. The percentage of literacy amongst the Scheduled Tribes is still low being only 7 per cent and that of Scheduled Castes 11 per cent against 26 per cent of literacy of the general population of the State. Efforts are required to prevent exploitation by eliminating middlemen and by starting purchase and sale centres and co-operative stores. Adequate credit facilities are required to be provided to enable the Adivasis and the Harijans to take to improved agriculture and horticulture. Small and medium units of agricultural processing industries are required to be started to help the Adivasis to get full benefit of minor and major forest produce so as to enable them to improve their standard of living to a reasonably comparable extent. Large number of forest marketing and labour contract co-operative societies are required to be organized. Tribal areas are opening up and tribals who lived so long in seclusion are fast coming in touch with the other communities. It is, therefore, necessary to help the

tribals to take full advantage of the growing economy and also to keep them as contented as possible.

With a view to achieving these objectives the Working Group considered that adequate provisions for the 4th Plan should be made for the backward classes. The aforesaid recommendations are stated below:—

STATE SECTOR

SCHEDULED TRIBES

Education

Ashram Schools—Eighty-three Ashram Schools are to be opened by the end of Third Plan. About 4,000 boys and girls are residing in these institutions. As this type of institution has become popular among the tribals it is felt necessary to open more Ashram Schools. So 25 Ashram Schools are proposed to be opened during the 4th Plan period for which a sum of Rs. 120 lakhs is required.

Pre-university Stipends—Government of India have expressed their views that the rate of stipend should be such that it would cover not only the maintenance charges but also cost of School uniforms and educational equipments. This objective can be achieved by providing more funds for stipends. It is, therefore, proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs for giving stipends and reading and writing materials to about 100,000 students during the Fourth Plan period.

Hostels—As per the indication of the Government of India, every Middle and High Schools in tribal areas should be provided with hostels. 27 Special Adivasi Hostels, 66 M. E. School Hostels, 2 Non-communal Hostels were opened both in the State and Central Sectors by the end of 2nd Plan. During the 3rd Plan period 135 Hostels will be provided to M. E. and H. E. Schools. It is proposed to provide 200 more Hostels to M. E. and High Schools and Colleges where necessary at a cost of Rs. 40 lakhs.

Teachers' quarters.—For want of residential accommodation in the M. E. and Primary Schools including Sevashrams, the teachers working in tribal areas do not serve for longer periods and often unwilling to go to tribal areas. So, necessary provision was made for providing quarters for the teachers in the Primary Schools. During the 3rd Plan it would be possible to provide 336 teachers' quarters at a cost of Rs. 12.49 lakhs. The number of quarters is very small against the requirement. It is, therefore, proposed to provide 1,000 quarters for M. E. School teachers and 1,300 quarters for Primary School teachers including Sevaks at a cost of Rs. 125 lakhs during the 4th Plan period.

Aid to private schools.—Since the number of Ashram Schools and Sevashrams are limited and a few thousand Scheduled Tribe students are admitted in these institutions, private efforts are to be encouraged for opening more institutions in the tribal areas. For opening educational institutions by private bodies in tribal areas, the local tribal people are to bear a part of the expenditure since full grant is not given by the Education Department. Tribal & Rural Welfare Department have made provision to meet the people's contribution. During the 3rd Plan no progress has been made so far as the Government of India approved the scheme recently. A sum of Rs. 2 lakhs is expected to be spent by the end of the 3rd Plan. During the 4th Plan 50 High Schools, 100 M. E. Schools and 750 Primary Schools are proposed to be given financial aid for which a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs has been estimated. The rate is Rs. 10,000 for High School, Rs. 3,000 for M. E. School and Rs. 3,000 for Primary School.

Midday meals.—This programme will be limited to the students of most backward tribal areas. The present practice is that Sevashrams of non-Block areas are to be provided with midday meals and that too in selected Sevashrams during the 4th Plan period

a co-ordinated programme with the C. D. & P. R. (C. D.) Department will be taken up and the funds of Tribal & Rural Welfare Department will be spent in the most backward tribal areas. During the 3rd Plan 230 midday meal centres are being opened annually and a sum of Rs. 7.44 lakhs is anticipated to be utilised by the end of the 3rd Plan. During the 4th Plan 200 centres are proposed to be opened annually at the rate of Rs. 9.12 P. per meal. A sum of Rs. 150.1 per centre will be required in a year. For 1,000 centres a sum of Rs. 7.50 lakhs has been estimated.

Training Centres.—There are at present 2 Training Centres and 2 Talim Kendras where teachers of Ashram Schools and Sevashrams are being trained, respectively. One Talim Kendra for training women teachers is being opened during the 3rd Plan period. This is only for Primary School teachers. During the 4th Plan period one more Training Centre is proposed to be opened for training Ashram School teachers at a cost of Rs. 2 lakhs.

Chhatrahs.—Many tribal villages do not have sufficient number of children to justify for opening L. P. Schools, nor they are able to go crossing jungles, hills and mountains to nearby village where Primary Schools or Sevashrams have been established. So, it has now been contemplated to open one Chhatrahs in such villages where at least 20 boys and girls would be available to read in classes I and II. It has been expected that in the villages of 50—200 population the minimum number of students would be available. 35 Chhatrahs have been opened during 1963-64 and 250 more will be opened during the remaining period. During the 4th Plan this type of institution will be opened in the most backward tribal areas. 250 Chhatrahs is proposed to be opened at a cost of Rs. 2.50 lakhs.

Residential Primary Schools.—There are 4 Residential Primary Schools

and it is found that for expanding Primary Education among the most backward tribes Residential Primary Schools are the best. It is proposed to open 100 such schools during the 4th Plan at a cost of Rs. 30 lakhs for each school at least a sum of Rs. 25,000 would be required for buildings and a sum of Rs. 25,000 for the staff, boarding charges of students and other contingent expenditure.

Upgraded Sevashrams—There are at present 125 Upgraded Sevashrams against the 1,183 Sevashrams. The ratio comes to 1:10 which is to be brought at least to ratio of 1:3 for more coverage of Upper Primary education of Scheduled Tribes. So, it is proposed to upgrade 100 Sevashrams to U. P. standard during the 4th Plan period at a cost of Rs. 2-50 lakhs.

Conversion of Ashram Schools into High Schools—Tribal students who are accustomed to Ashram School education often find it difficult to read in the High Schools. The care they are receiving for their health, food, clothing and education in the Ashram School is lacking considerably in the general High School. So, it is proposed to convert a few Ashram Schools into High Schools with residential accommodation and in lieu of stipend that they may ordinarily get, the students would be given food, clothing, etc. There are at present 83 Ashram Schools and 25 more are proposed for the 4th Plan. 25 per cent of it may be converted into High Schools. Simabeda Ashram School is being converted into High School during 1964-65. So, it is proposed to convert 20 Ashram Schools into High Schools during the 4th Plan period at a cost of Rs. 10 lakhs.

Providing Classes VIII and IX in the existing Ashram Schools—Tribal students after passing class VII from

Ashram Schools get admission into High Schools of their respective locality and a selected few are brought to New Capital. It is found that a larger percentage discontinues for their studies from High Schools and go back home, thus resulting in wastage. In the wake of industrialisation in the State a sum of technical personnel and artisans are required with lesser qualification any class IX or X. In order to provide scope for employment to the Scheduled Tribe boys it is proposed to open classes VIII and IX in the existing Ashram Schools. During the 4th Plan 30 Ashram Schools will be provided with classes VIII and IX for this purpose and a sum of Rs. 7-50 lakhs would be required for additional staff, students and providing additional accommodation, etc.

Nursery Schools—It is an accepted policy that before a student reads 3 Rs his mind should be trained to receive the education that will be given to him in his 5th year. Some bad habits creep up in the children, prior to coming to School have to be rectified. This requires special treatment of the children. Nursery (Pre-Primary) Schools are, therefore, thought as a remedy to develop the mind of the children. It is proposed to open 10 Nursery Schools as an experimental basis in the tribal areas for which a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs would be necessary during the 4th Plan period. For each school a sum of Rs. 30,000 is estimated.

Economic Uplift

Water Control and Resettlement of shifting cultivators—The programme of Water Control and Resettlement of shifting cultivators has been taken up during 3rd Plan period at a total cost of Rs. 11-00 lakhs. The amount is mainly utilised in continuing water shed management units for control of shifting cultivation and prevention of paddy cultivation.

In 3rd Plan adequate funds are not available to take up comprehensive soil conservation measures on an extensive scale in the shifting cultivation regions. Due to limited Plan provision three Soil Conservation Demonstration-cum-Nursery Farms to demonstrate soil conservation measures relating to hill agriculture has been started. In these farms experiments on grass, fruit trees and other crops are being undertaken and suitable cases are demonstrated to the local people.

The resettlement programme and Taggays method of cultivation will be correlated and it has been estimated that 30,000 families could be settled in suitable forest blocks where bench terracing would be introduced and the economy will be horticulture and forest based economy.

It has been roughly estimated that Rs. 5000 lakhs would be required during 4th Plan period for implementation of this programme. Extensive Soil Conservation measure will be taken up in the resettlement areas.

Resettlement of 'A' category tribes—The tribal communities in Orissa should be classified under three broad categories such as (a) Most primitive, (b) Tribes in transition, and (c) Semi-acculturated or acculturated tribes in regard to their economic and social backwardness. According to the recent decision of Government the most primitive tribes are to be given special attention. The population of these most backward tribes is of the order of about 2 lakhs.

To bring them on par with the advanced sections of the population a scheme of Resettlement of 'A' category tribes has been taken up in the 3rd Plan period. The scheme aims at giving education to their children in a boarding type school and special attention is to be given to agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, cottage industries and other allied programmes. Good dwelling houses and drinking

water facilities are to be provided. It has been assessed that to deal with 1,000 population (200 families) living in a very backward area a sum of Rs. 10.00 lakhs at the rate of Rs. 1,000 for each family is necessary.

In the 3rd Plan programme a sum of Rs. 10.00 lakhs has been provided to establish one unit for the all-round development of 1,000 population belonging to 'A' category tribes. In order to cover up the entire programme for the benefit of 2 lakhs of 'A' category tribes, a total sum of Rs. 20 crores would be required phased for a number of years.

Since it is necessary to approach the problem in a systematic manner it is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 20.00 lakhs in the 4th Plan for 20 units for resettlement of 'A' category tribes.

Subsidies for Cottage Industries—The 3rd Plan financial achievement is Rs. 5.00 lakhs. It is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs for expenditure during the 4th Plan period for giving grants and subsidies to trained craftsmen belonging to Scheduled Tribe for establishing themselves in crafts like tailoring, weaving, smithy, carpentry, etc.

Industrial Training of Scheduled Tribes—The 3rd Plan financial achievement is Rs. 9.24 lakh. A sum of Rs. 10.00 lakhs has been proposed for payment of stipends to Scheduled Tribe students reading in different industrial schools of the State during the 4th Plan. Nearly 4,000 Scheduled Tribe students are coming out successfully annually in the M. E. examinations. Out of them about 2,000 students will be available for technical training provided they are given adequate incentives, i.e., adequate stipend and accommodation, etc.

Lac Cultivation—Cultivation of lac has considerable scope in tribal areas. The broad plants on which lac is cultivated are in the process of disappearing by deforestation that is taking place. These plants are sought

to be propagated in lands which are not suitable for cultivation. Considerable economic benefit will accrue to the tribal families out of this programme. The 3rd Plan financial achievement is Rs. 0.60 lakh. A provision of Rs. 1.50 lakhs is proposed for 4th Plan for intensive programme.

Tassar Rearing—Rs. 1.50 lakhs has also been proposed for tassur rearing in the 4th Plan.

Poultry Rearing—The 3rd Plan financial achievement is Rs. 8 lakhs. A provision of Rs. 15.00 lakhs has been proposed in the 4th Plan for opening 1 special unit, 50 deep-litter systems in Ashram Schools, economic units for 150 families, maintenance of 5 (100 layer units) with breeding facilities, one truck with necessary staff for supply of poultry feeds to the tribal units, capital for running a feed mixing centre for supply of pre-mixed feed to the tribal unit and for the development of the poultry unit at headquarters. It has been estimated that about Rs. 4.00 lakhs for one special poultry unit and Rs. 4.00 lakhs for introducing deep-litter system in 50 Ashram Schools and Rs. 5 lakhs for 5 units of hundred layer unit, one truck and feed mixing centre will be utilised during 4th Plan period.

Piggery and Goat Breeding—The programme for development of piggeries has been undertaken during 3rd Plan period. Under this programme 1 piggery farm has been established. The 3rd Plan financial achievement is Rs. 6.46 lakhs. During 4th Plan period it is proposed to distribute 5,000 pedigree stock to 5,000 families at Rs. 100 each for which a sum of Rs. 5.00 lakhs is proposed.

Pisciculture—During 2nd Plan period 5 Pisciculture Centres were opened in the tribal areas at a cost of Rs. 1.54 lakhs. Under 3rd Plan one composite fish seed centre, 4 small fish seed centres and introduction of pisciculture in 20 Ashram Schools have been contemplated. To get the Scheme

more popular it is proposed to establish 20 Pisciculture Centres in Ashram Schools and 20 centres in tribal areas during 4th Plan period at a cost of Rs. 7.00 lakhs.

Graingolias—During 2nd Plan period 431 graingolias have been organised in tribal areas. 250 more golias would be opened by the end of 3rd Plan period. The objective is to provide one graingolia to each of the Grama Panchayats in tribal areas. By the end of 3rd Plan there will be in all 1,081 golias. The target fixed by the T. & R. W. Department for providing graingolias in Grama Panchayats of tribal areas has already been achieved and as such no further provision for opening new golias is necessary. But in view of high cost of materials for construction of buildings it is necessary to provide funds for completion of golias. And for proper working of the graingolias supply of paddy on credit to the tribal would be essentially required. It is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs for this purpose during the 4th Plan period.

Technical Training Institute—So far only one Industrial Training Institute at Takaspar has been established to impart training to Scheduled Tribes in different trades. But with the rapid growth of industrialisation in the State the demand for more technical hands is rising day-by-day. To meet the growing demands immediately steps are being taken to move Government of India for establishing 4 I. T. Is. during 3rd Plan period. Even these I.T. Is. will not sufficiently cater to the needs of the Industrial establishments like Steel Plant at Rourkela, MIG factory at Sunabeda, Ferro-manganese Plant at Keonjhar and Balimela Project at Koraput coming up in tribal areas. It has been estimated that about 4,250 students belonging to Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes will be available for undergoing technical training annually. The intake of students in the existing I. T. Is. of both T. & R. W. Department and Industries Department is not more than 150. So to attract more students

for the technical training it is necessary to open at least 2 I.T.s. with a capacity of 750 seats during Fourth Plan and the existing I.T.s. at Takstpur will be expanded for admitting 750 students at against 260 at present for which Rs. 90.00 lakhs would be necessary.

Award of Prizes to tribal villages—In order to create enthusiasm among the tribals for co-operating in the development programme and to take full advantage of those programmes it has been decided to award prizes to the tribal villages. A Committee to be set up will select the best villages for award of prizes. A sum of Rs. 7.50 lakhs for awarding prizes to 15 villages is proposed for Fourth Plan.

Rural Communication—A sum of Rs. 25.00 lakhs during Fourth Plan period would be necessary for construction of 150 miles of all-weather murrum roads and 30 culverts as the areas inhabited by most backward tribes are still inaccessible and require communication facilities as quickly as possible.

Small-Scale Industries—This is proposed to be taken up in the extremely backward areas in addition to the normal activities. In selected areas it is proposed to start units of small-scale industries. 5 such units at the rate of Rs. 50,000 each are proposed to be started in the Fourth Plan on the pattern of Panchayat Industries.

Development of Orchards in the Ashram Schools and in tribal settlements—At present there are 23 Ashram Schools including 18 Kanyashrams functioning in the State. Each Ashram School has sufficient lands but they are not being properly utilised. It is proposed to plant mango, orange, guava trees, etc., in the Ashram Schools by acquiring more lands wherever necessary. In tribal settlements similar scheme will also be taken up. Orchards in an area of 30 acres is proposed to be taken up. There is no provision specifically for this during 3rd Plan. In the Fourth Plan period it

is proposed to take up 75 orchards in Ashram School and in tribal settlements at Rs. 30,000 each.

Supply of seeds, bullocks and implements to Scheduled Tribe Agriculturalists—As it has been decided by Government of India to give more stress on agriculture it is necessary to improve agricultural production in tribal areas by way of supplying improved seeds, bullocks and implements. It is, therefore, proposed to give subsidy to 1,000 families at Rs. 500 each for which Rs. 5.00 lakhs for Fourth Plan is necessary.

Establishment of Demonstration Farm—To lay more stress on agricultural programme and to adopt improved method of agriculture it is proposed to establish demonstration farms in tribal areas. To start with, it is necessary to establish 5 such farms in Fourth Plan for which Rs. 5.00 lakhs has been suggested. These farms will go a long way in introducing new crops and new strains for which there is scope in tribal areas. The scheme will be executed through Director of Agriculture with the funds of T. & R. W. Department. This is a new venture.

Minor Irrigation—The programme of Minor Irrigation in tribal areas needs specific attention of the State Government as agriculture without irrigation in these areas will not be feasible. 75 M.I. Projects are proposed to be started with a cost of Rs. 40.00 lakhs during Fourth Plan period.

Health, Housing and other Schemes

Drinking water-supply—The problem of drinking water-supply in the tribal areas is as acute as it was before. So far no appreciable progress has been made owing to many difficulties. By the end of Second Plan about 4,469 wells have been sunk and during the Third Plan period another 1,345 wells are expected to be dug in the tribal areas. This is only about 25 per cent of the total requirement of the tribal areas. During a discussion with the Chairman of the Drinking Water-Supply Board,

be advised for providing piped water-supply and giving preference to difficult and scarcity areas. The present programme of piped water-supply is for covering villages with 2,000 or more population. There are about 68 villages in the most backward and tribal areas. It has been estimated that about Rs. 1-30 lakhs would be required for such a project in tribal areas. As the water-supply programme is more urgent in view of the health and sanitation of the tribals at least 30 villages may be included in the 4th Plan for which a sum of 39-03 lakhs would be required. Besides in other areas wells, tanks, etc., may also be provided. It is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 90 lakhs for sinking 4,300 wells.

Anti-Leprosy Campaign—Like Yaws Leprosy is also widespread among the tribals. So far no special steps have been taken for treatment of these patients for which a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs has been proposed during 4th Plan.

Treatment of P. D.—As this disease is commonly prevalent among the tribals, continued effort is necessary to give proper treatment. This scheme may be continued during the 4th and 5th Plan periods. A sum of Rs. 1 lakh is proposed for each Plan period. About 85,000 persons would be treated during each Plan period.

Mobile Health Units—The scheme was contemplated to provide medical facilities in every village in tribal areas where such facilities are wanting. By the end of the 3rd Plan, 14 units would be working. But for want of medical staff the units are lying unoperated for a long time. However, 10 units are proposed for the 4th Plan. The cost of organising one unit with necessary staff equipment and vehicle is estimated at about Rs. 30,000. Taking into account the annual recurring expenditure during the Plan period, a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs is suggested.

Allopathic Dispensary—By the end of Second Plan only 11 allopathic dispensaries could be opened. No provision

could be made for opening dispensaries during Third Plan period as the general health programme expected to meet the demands of tribal areas. But it was not possible in the general health programme. So it is necessary that some provision should be made in the Backward classes sector for opening dispensaries in tribal areas. During the Fourth Plan it is proposed to open 20 Allopathic dispensaries for which a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs would be necessary.

Six-bedded hospitals—By the end of Second Plan 20 hospitals were opened. There is no programme in the Third Plan for opening six-bedded hospitals. However, as some pressing demands come for opening a few hospitals, a proposal has been made to Government of India to open six-bedded hospitals during the last two years of Third Plan. Since there is great demand at least 20 six-bedded hospitals may be opened during the Fourth Plan for which a sum of Rs. 28 lakhs has been estimated.

Ayurvedic Dispensary—11 Ayurvedic dispensaries were opened by the end of Second Plan. As in the case of Allopathic dispensary no provision could be made for Ayurvedic dispensary during the Plan. As Allopathic doctors and medical technicians, pharmacists etc., are not available in adequate numbers opening of Ayurvedic dispensaries in the tribal areas would meet with the demand for medical treatment to a great extent. It is proposed to open 20 Ayurvedic dispensaries during the Fourth Plan for which a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs would be required.

Housing facilities—It has been indicated by the Government of India in their interim report on Fourth Plan that housing problem of the tribals is not as acute as that of the Scheduled Castes. So high priority should be given to scheme like rehabilitation of shifting cultivators or re-settlement of those displaced by development projects. Even here, Government assistance may be in the form of supply of building

materials and some cash assistance, leaving the tribes to be self-sufficient according to their own choice and taste. The Government has decided on providing housing facilities to the Scheduled Tribes during the 4th Plan. It is proposed to take up 1,000 houses each costing about Rs. 1,250.

Aid to non-Official Organisation.—For quicker development of social and cultural activities in the country the role of voluntary organisation is undeniable. In order to encourage a self-help organisation financial assistance need to be given. During the 3rd Plan period about 25 organisations have been given financial assistance for development work in the tribal areas. As the likely expenditure would be about Rs. 5-40 lakhs by the end of 3rd Plan period, it is proposed that Rs. 5-40 lakhs be allocated for the 4th Plan period.

Legal Aid to Scheduled Tribes.—Rs. 1 lakh has been proposed for the 4th Plan to give legal aid to Scheduled Tribes to fight out cases of land encroachment, etc.

Provision of Special Staff.—In order to meet the demand for special staff like engineering personnel and clerical staff, etc. at the district level and to provide a special staff at the field level for superintending the tribal areas, it is proposed that Rs. 25 lakhs be allocated for the 4th Plan for additional staff and quarters out of which a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs would be spent for providing quarters and the rest for staff.

Cultural Organisation among the Tribes.—Since the tribal art, culture, dance and music are in a decaying stage it is proposed to revive them by special measures. As a first step in the direction, some open air theatres in the tribal

areas will be opened in the pattern of open air theatres provided in rural areas.

The theatre will be in the form of a raised platform of 30 x 40 with an oval or semi-circular shape. Pancha, musical instruments, stage-dress, etc., furniture, radio, library book, games articles, etc., will also be supplied. It is estimated that a sum of Rs. 2-50 lakhs has been proposed for the 4th Plan.

It has also been contemplated to take up research work for the development and preservation of tribal music, dance, etc.

Special Publicity Unit.—Owing to heavy concentration of more backward 'A' category Scheduled Tribes in Koraput district, a large number of special schemes are being taken up which will be further intensified during the Fourth Five-Year Plan period.

It has been felt necessary to provide a Special Publicity Unit for apprising the Adviser of the special schemes and for securing their co-operation in the field. It is proposed to set up this unit during the Third Five-Year Plan period for which Government of India have already been approached. A provision of Rs. 1 lakh has been realized for the remaining years of the Third Five-Year Plan. The scheme will continue to operate during the Fourth Plan.

Provision of Special Staff.

Provision of

Provision of Special Staff.—It has been indicated in the interim report of Fourth Plan that the rate of expend should be such as to cover the maintenance

cost, school uniform and educational equipment. The number of stipends and lump grants should have to be increased. Besides, reading and writing materials also be given to the Scheduled Caste students. Rs. 10 lakhs in each year of the plan period. For both these programmes a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs has been proposed during the Fourth Plan. About 100,000 students would be benefited.

Hostels. By the end of Second Plan 42 hostels were allotted to different educational institutions. During the Third Plan period 60 hostels would have been provided to M. E. Schools and High Schools, in the districts of Cuttack, Puri, Bargarh, Sambalpur and Ganjam where a large number of Scheduled Caste students are studying. During the Fourth Plan for which a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs has been provided.

Adarsh Schools. Scheduled Caste students are more advanced than the Scheduled Caste students. A specific provision is made for opening Adarsh Schools for Scheduled Caste students. But for girl students some special consideration is necessary. For Scheduled Tribe girls about 18 Adarsh Schools have been opened so far. So far, 10 Adarsh Schools for girls have been opened in Orissa. The Government is strongly recommended for opening Adarsh Schools for Harijan students.

Residential Primary Schools in Municipalities and M. A. C.s for Jansajee's children. The problems of sweepers have drawn the attention of both Government of India and the State Government and for the improvement of their living conditions various measures are being taken. For educating their children a special environment it is proposed to open at least 3 residential Primary Schools in the existing pattern of residential school for Scheduled Tribes for which a sum of Rs. 7-30 lakhs would be required during the Fourth Plan period.

Business & Plan

Scheduled Caste. The Government of India has proposed for permanent improvement of Scheduled Caste people do not have their own land. They have been giving waste and fallow land to these people. The Government has provided bullocks and agricultural implements are being provided to Scheduled Caste. During Third Plan it is expected Rs. 3-35 lakhs will be spent.

To encourage the Scheduled Caste in the practice of agriculture it has been proposed to provide Rs. 6-00 lakhs for the Fourth Plan.

Cottage Industries. The scheme aims at giving subsidies to trained craftsmen belonging to Scheduled Caste for cottage industries. The Government has proposed Rs. 1-00 lakhs for the Fourth Plan and Rs. 3-00 lakhs for the Fifth Plan has been proposed under this programme.

Weavers' Co-operatives. The weavers belonging to Scheduled Caste are not having any credit facilities. A loan or subsidy given to them directly may not be sufficient. It is proposed to form co-operative societies among collective weavers. A number of weavers will work together under this scheme. A sum of Rs. 3-00 lakhs is proposed for Fourth Plan for organising 10 societies.

Industrial Training. Rs. 3-00 lakhs has been proposed for the Fourth Plan for giving stipends to about 1,000 Scheduled Caste students in different technical schools.

Health, Housing and others

Drinking Water-Supply. By the end of Second Plan 923 wells could be provided to the Scheduled Caste population. The Government proposed Third Plan a 833 wells. Since the Scheduled Caste population is dispersed among the general population facilities for drinking water supply have to be provided in such places where majority

of the inhabitant are Scheduled Castes. Instructions have been issued to Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis for locating wells. As no specific data are available to assess the requirement of drinking water facilities for Scheduled Castes it is proposed to dig 1,000 wells during the Fourth Plan at a cost of Rs. 20 lakhs.

Housing—During the Third Plan housing facilities was extended to the sweepers and scavengers engaged by the State Houses. But during the Second Plan, 8,000 such houses were constructed for the Scheduled Castes. This facility may be extended to Scheduled Castes during the Fourth Plan period. Provision for housing for sweepers and scavengers would be made in the Central Sector. It is proposed to construct 1,000 units of houses during the Fourth Plan at a cost of Rs. 12 lakhs at Rs. 1,200 for each house.

Hostel sites—In the state sector this scheme has been introduced during 1964-65. Many of the Scheduled Castes do not have the right to land for building houses. So this facility has been introduced. One Scheduled Caste family can be given maximum assistance up to Rs. 500 for purchase of land. It is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 4 lakhs during the Fourth Plan for 1,000 families.

Legal aid to Harijans—Though the scheme has been in operation since Second Plan its appreciable result has been achieved so far perhaps because of want of adequate publicity and proper way of making out cases for being eligible for the grant. Now adequate attention is being paid to enable the people to avail themselves of the opportunity. A sum of Rs. 1 lakh is proposed for the Fourth Plan.

Grant-in-aid to non-official organisations—In order to encourage the non-official organisations to work for the benefit of Scheduled Castes Governmental assistance is also necessary. The D. C. I. which is doing a good deal of work need be given

adequate financial assistance. Government of India have instructed not to make separate provision for D. C. I. So for all these non-official organisations a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs has been provided for the Fourth Plan. During this period these institutions may try to be self-supporting.

CENTRAL SECTOR

Scheme 120 Tribes

Education

Girls' Hostels—During the Third Plan the provision for girls' hostels were initiated by the Government of India. During the Third Plan per 10 girls' hostels would be opened at a cost of Rs. 3.75 lakhs. During the Fourth Plan 16 more hostels will be opened which may be located in the district and sub-divisional headquarters where Girls' High Schools and M. L. Schools are opened. A sum of Rs. 11,000 has been estimated for a hostel. For opening 16 hostels a sum of Rs. 12 lakhs would be necessary during the Fourth Plan period.

Post-graduate Scholarship—The award of Post-graduate Scholarships has enabled Scheduled Tribe students to prosecute their studies. The scheme has been approved by the Ministry of Government of India. It has also suggested for continuance of the programme. By the end of Third Plan a sum of Rs. 8.92 lakhs would have been spent benefiting 454 students. The average annual expenditure would be nearly Rs. 2 lakhs. During the Fourth Plan a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs is proposed for awarding scholarships to about 2,000 students.

Residential Sramashrams for Girls—During the Second Plan 6 Residential Sramashrams were opened for boy students' funds for which were provided in the Central Sector. Some more Residential Sramashrams are being opened during the year 1964-65 in the State Sector. A few such Residential Primary Schools for Scheduled Tribe girl students need be opened to afford

the 2nd Plan 4 Special Multi purpose Blocks were sanctioned. The T. D. Block had a schematic budget of Rs. 27 lakhs, Rs. 12 lakhs from the C. D. Ministry and Rs. 15 lakhs from the Ministry of Agriculture.

Economic Uplift

The 2nd Plan 4 Special Multi purpose Blocks had a schematic budget of Rs. 27 lakhs, Rs. 12 lakhs from the C. D. Ministry and Rs. 15 lakhs from the Ministry of Agriculture. During the 3rd Plan period these 4 S. M. P. Blocks were approved to be opened. T. D. Blocks

approved to be opened. T. D. Blocks

period, a Stage II Block of Rs. 3 lakhs each is given by both the Ministries. On the basis of the number of T. D. Blocks sanctioned during the 3rd Plan a sum of Rs. 481 lakhs would be necessary for 42 T. D. Blocks during the 4th Plan period to be sanctioned as Stage I and Stage II Blocks. 45 more T. D. Blocks will be opened on the basis of 1961 Census population for which a sum of 224 lakhs is estimated. Besides, ad hoc grant at Rs. 2,000 for every 1,000 Scheduled Tribe population

by the Government of India, 152 C. D. Blocks will qualify for ad hoc grant and a sum of Rs. 31.18 lakhs would be necessary. Thus in all a sum of Rs. 746.18 lakhs would be necessary for T. D. Blocks during the 4th Plan period.

Service Co-operatives Purpose and Self Help.—A number of service co-operatives are necessary to be opened during the 4th Plan for giving easy

of purchasing their produce by the Sahukars and other middlemen. A sum of Rs. 75 lakhs is proposed for the 4th Plan.

Forest Co-operatives, etc.—Forest Co-operative Societies help the tribal people in building and strengthening their forest economy. 25 Forest Co-operatives opened during the 2nd Plan are running smoothly in spite of odds and difficulties faced from the contractors. During the 3rd Plan period 56 societies would be opened. As the forest area in the State is vast and there is ample scope to take full advantage of the forest wealth it is proposed to

opening 180 societies at the rate of Rs. 40,000 each working capital Rs. 30,000 and building and staff subsidy Rs. 5,000 during the 4th Plan. Some supervisory and administrative staff will be necessary for the smooth working of the scheme.

The precarious method of pods or shifting cultivation on the hill slopes, the climatic conditions affected the soil resulting in soil erosion and forming of great fissures in hilly areas. A very little effort has so far been made to check the soil erosion. During the 2nd Plan only a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs could be provided in the T. & R. W. programme for soil

Plan the provision has been specified in the 4th Plan. It is, therefore, considered necessary to provide a sum of Rs. 100 lakhs for tribal families will be restricted.

The co-operative societies will be an important one. A sum of Rs. 120 lakhs is proposed for the 4th Plan. As it was a Central Sector Scheme during 2nd Plan and has its great importance for tribal economy the scheme has been proposed to be included in the Central Sector.

Health, Housing and Welfare

Research and Training.—The need of the central work on group giving some guidance in the field has been accepted for the drawing up programme for

Post-matric Scholarship—Government of India in their recent report on 4th Plan have indicated for giving Post-matric Scholarship to the denotified tribes. Due to very limited population the number of post-matric students may be very much rated. As such a small provision of Rs. 50,000 has been proposed for the 4th Plan for awarding scholarship to 5 students.

Residential Schools—During the 3rd Plan 3 residential schools would be established for the denotified tribes including one for girls. As the number of students would be small, 2 more schools are proposed for 4th Plan at a cost of Rs. 5 lakhs.

Other Schemes

Colonisation Housing—During the 3rd Plan about 100 units of houses would be provided to the denotified tribes at a cost of Rs. 2 lakhs. It is proposed to provide 500 or so units of houses during the 4th Plan period at a cost of Rs. 4.50 lakhs. Each unit of house will cost about Rs. 900.

Scholarship for Agriculture and Industrial Aid—A sum of Rs. 1.50 lakhs would have been spent by the end of 3rd Plan for giving aid to about 300 persons. During the 4th Plan a sum of Rs. 2.50 lakhs may be provided for giving agricultural and industrial aid to about 300 persons.

Sticking of Water—Eighty wells would have been sunk for the denotified tribes at the end of 3rd Plan at a cost of

Rs. 1.20 lakhs. Since these people are living in the district of Kachapi mostly sinking of wells is not more in that area due to rocky tracts and difficult terrain. A sum of Rs. 7 lakhs is proposed for the 4th Plan for sinking about 150 wells.

Senior Co-operation for Denotified Tribes—The special working group on co-operation for backward classes have recommended for organisation co-operatives which has been generally accepted by the Government. It is proposed to organise 10 co-operatives during the 4th Plan. Each co-operative may be given a subsidy of Rs. 20,000 towards working capital, management, etc. through the Registrar Co-operative Societies so that the latter will have control and supervision on these co-operatives. A sum of Rs. 2 lakhs would therefore be necessary during 4th Plan.

In short the working group of backward classes for 4th Plan has recommended for the 4th Plan an outlay of Rs. 14.5 crores under the State Sector as against Rs. 4.57 crores during the Third Plan and Rs. 11.8 crores under Central Sector as against Rs. 1.79 crores for the 3rd Plan. In other words the 4th Plan area programme of the working group are of the order of Rs. 27.12 crores under both the State and Central Sectors as against the Third Plan outlay of Rs. 6.42 crores as shown in the following table.

Category	Third Plan Outlay	Proposed outlay for 4th Plan
	STATE SECTOR	
	Rs. in lakhs	Rs. in lakhs
Scheduled Tribes	113.00	1,563.00
Scheduled Castes	39.00	183.50
	452.00	1,746.50
	CENTRAL SECTOR	
Scheduled Tribes	343.63	1,090.19
Scheduled Castes	12.25	72.50
Denotified Tribes	9.70	18.10
	378.67	1,180.79
Grand Total	841.67 or 8.42 crores	27.12-28 or 27.12 crores

The problem of defining the term "tribe" has been taken up afresh and experts from the fields of research and administration are applying their minds to the problem of the term. It may appear somewhat surprising, that when three plans have been worked out successfully and the country is getting ready to launch the Fourth Plan and when the development of the tribal people had been a significant feature of all the plans, we should still be worrying about problems of definition. There is, however, nothing wrong about the problem of definition. It is a part of the art of research and action. No definition of any term, which has empirical reference to human phenomena can be treated as final. A definition undergoes changes in the light of fresh data acquired through further research. This should be especially so in case of the term "tribe". When we began to formulate plans for the development of the tribal people, we had to start with an ad hoc definition of the term based on such information which was available at that time. After 40 years of planning and research, we know a great deal more and we have been brought under focus. The definition given in the early years of concepts. It is, therefore, imperative upon our planners, administrators and research workers to take up the problem with all seriousness.

While taking up the problem one is confronted with a multiplicity of definitions. Many of these definitions have

ever conflicting meaning. This certainly complicates our problem. This should not however be taken as specific to the problem of defining the term "tribe". In the field of social sciences, the problem of defining a social group or the term "tribe" has been discussed for many years. The various applications, have not yet been suitably defined so as to be acceptable to various schools of thought. The task before us, therefore, is to compare and analyse the different definitions and to make efforts to arrive at a synthesis. Such synthesis may not be achieved at once, it may not even be possible in near future. But the attempt should be continued.

When attempting to define the term 'tribe', it is necessary to decide about the modes of analysis. It has been the practice to assume a scientific method to start with certain existing terms and conceptual models. They go on analysing these terms and examining the social and cultural groups of people. Ultimately it results in focusing attention more on the terms rather than the people. In my opinion it is not a scientific method. We must accept, *a priori*, that certain groups of people do exist, who are marked by comparative isolation, have customs, beliefs and practices which differ from the majority of the people and, above all, the planning and execution of whose development pose problems different from others when social and cultural factors are

it does not mean that it would remain a tribe in perpetuity. All social groups are susceptible to change and yet they are distinguishable as groups. I do not understand why should one grudge this inevitable fact as case of tribes.

Another argument which challenges the status of tribe as a social entity is that as an entity it is not scientifically measurable. This argument is based on an inadequate understanding of the scientific measurability of social groups. The boundaries of a society are not comparable to clear-cut lines on one side at which a society abruptly comes to an end and on the other side another society begins with equal abruptness. Social boundaries are only comparable in different shades of colour gradua-ting into one another. While defining tribe we need not however be so much concerned about borders. Our main concern should be with the core of the culture and society.

Societal measurability can be achieved in respect of term tribe. If our research is oriented towards locating those factors which form the core of tribal society and culture. A parameter in this respect can be given by the classical definition according to which a tribe is "A group of people inhabiting a contiguous territory speaking a common dialect, practising the same customs, beliefs and practices and forming a socially self-sufficient unit." What I say is that this definition can give us guidance. I never mean that it is adequate and precise. What I mean is that this definition can provide us with a variable starting point. I am fully conscious about the inadequacy of the definition firstly because the term 'characteristics' contained in it admit of degrees. A further reason for considering this definition as inadequate is that its contents have yet to be touched by the latest developments in the science of anthropology and by modern techniques of research. Caution should be taken of such areas of study as culture-personality, social

structure, social and cultural dynamics, culture, linguistics and human ecology. Researches in these areas should be conducted under an integrated programme.

Stray references are sometimes quoted from ancient texts to prove that the sphere of socio-integration contained the tribal people in ancient India. If one examines some of these quotations and the manner of their presentation, one cannot but be convinced that the arguments advanced on their authority are more in the nature of manipulation than logical conclusions. These stray references never objectively prove that there was any actual integration of the tribal society with the Hindu society. Even if we keep aside contextual considerations and confine our attention to the texts themselves, we can never ascertain that the codifiers of social law in Ancient India were ever conscious about the problem of integration of tribal people with their society. On the contrary there is enough evidence to show that they were haunted by a fear of contamination and rudeness of a foreign race, a superstition based on a belief that the tribal people belong to an altogether different species and are unchangeable in their thought process. This position becomes clear when, instead of treating the term 'tribe' in abstract, we make reference to concrete groups of people.

The same theme is carried over to apply in modern conditions when it is pointed out that some sections of tribal people have regular contact with certain caste-groups and in some cases they have even developed symbiotic relationships. It is added in this connection and well-organised movements, which have Hindu values as their goals, have also been launched among the tribal people under the initiative of tribal leaders themselves. As I have pointed out elsewhere all these go to show that changes are taking place among the tribal people and these changes point out that tribes do exist as social entities and

whether these changes can obliterate their separate social existence can be ascertained by studying the direction of these changes. This raises a point which is more important than mere physical isolation. Physical isolation can be simulated by imposing communication. But the type of isolation which overlaps as a result of a strong in-group feeling overlaps with an overlap in feeling towards others. It raises a new problem for the anthropologist, one overlapping workers. I shall return to this depends this type of overlap instead of breaking it. It is true that certain tribal groups adopt the dress and customs of other people when they come into contact with them. But adaptation of dress rules does not break up the social units of the group.

On the other hand, there is abundant evidence to indicate that these are used as tools against social examination. This problem and its analysis should provide the basis for defining the tribes as a separate social entity.

Lastly, I may point out that in attacking the problems of definition our aim should be to develop clarity of concepts rather than to achieve a crisp formula. If we can develop precise concepts on the fundamental aspects of tribal culture as we have achieved our objective. A definition can follow from it but may not be fully expressive of it. The essentials and because of that it may be sometimes misleading if the concepts on which it is founded are lost sight of.

The caption of this paper is something that I would not like to do, with certain common phenomena that a worker in tribal welfare is likely to come across. In an informal discussion a friend once expressed surprise that in a village in barlets separated by only the narrow village common for ages they lived there following a common avocation of hill cultivation and collection of fruits, roots and tubers from the forests nearby. Both communities were equally poverty stricken leading an existence of deplorably subhuman level, steeped in ignorance, and age old superstitions. That although living as though across the street for generations, they followed their own different patterns of living which manifested in their food dress and manners. Their children attended their own different schools and followed their own different play and sports. They spoke different languages and used different words for the same things. They were equally ignorant of the needs of salt and oil and iron tools. They were equally ignorant of the plagues and the plagues in the latter's language is the same broken accent. But, at home each pursued his own distinctive pattern of living. They followed their own customs which are more deep rooted but also in their food habits dress and day-to-day habits and manners. It would appear as though they were living in two separately walled cities without any avenues of contact with each other while in fact they are in close

proximity and contact day in and day out. No doubt where religion acts as a barrier against close intermarriage, for instance, neighbourliness may not have much impact on matters like dress and food habits. In the case of the Santals and the Oraons the question of living in close quarters of the same village is not a problem and for other Orans. In the language of the anthropologist the Santals is of Austronesian stock, while the other the Orans is of Dravidian stock. The traditions of each differs from the other. Their religions, and social practices and customs are different. Apparently, there is no surprise to find the members of these two communities pursuing their own lines of living habits, customs and manners in spite of the fact that their children might be playing together and attending the same school, their contact with the common plainsman traders and creditors. What, however, was intriguing my friend is that close proximity had no contact of each other both seemed to be competing with each other in adopting the really dominant culture. My friend went on to illustrate his point. When the Block Development Programme was introduced in the area a number of officers from the plains and with cultures drawn far from that of the

tobacco in the form of a paste for chewing the teeth was restricted to the plain people, and never passed down to the savages. When such persons went to the tribe across whether as block personnel or in pursuit of trade and commerce the tribesmen came in their contact and it took them not long at all to add up to the fact that the paste was to tobacco tooth paste from tobacco chewing. The tribesmen were not over night. Tribesmen of all ages were seen to be using the paste in the same manner. The tribesmen during the morning hours when they would watch a minute to stand by and use it in the afternoon. The tribesmen were not troubled by the trouble of finding out why the paste was preferred to tobacco smoking. They said that the paste was much better and that my friend was asking such a question merely in jest although he was a young man. The tribesmen would however say that the tooth paste was not only new and newer to taste but more dignified and so it had been favoured by the "baboo". That is why it has been preferred by them.

What my friend in course of his work among the backward tribal people saw were outcomes to culture contact between two cultures. One of the cultures was that of the tribesmen and was a primitive one and the other was a modern one. The tribesmen were weak. The other was borne by not only an economically stronger people but in this case the subjects had access to administrative power to their credit. In a certain set of circumstances, the modern culture was able to sweep the older, the economically weaker culture, as it were, off its feet. What my friend was astonished to notice may well have been manifestations of such a process in the culture contact of two different peoples. While the plain people probably found nothing worth consideration in the pattern of living of the poor tribesmen, the latter through the tribesmen and customs of the plain people they came in contact

were the dignified pattern to follow and their own pattern was not worth anything at all in a third case.

Indians have been the hands of adoption of new customs and manners, dress or food habits acquired from the tribesmen. This process of acquisition involves a decrying of one's native habits and customs. It is strange in this case not only thought that their games or their music were inferior to the tribesmen's, their food poor and indigested, but the contagion was more deep rooted and wide spread. The tribesmen were found to have considered their entire life pattern, their culture as inferior and degraded. They were inheritors of a second or third rate culture. The tribesmen were not of third rate, mediocre people. For when we see the tribesmen they are so poor, so outlandish and foolish. They are a people deserving of every one's pity. This was indeed pathetic. If we analyse what had happened in this case we would come to notice that there was no attempt on the part of the block personnel in question to bring the tribesmen and others from the plains to recognise the process of culture change which was taking place in course of the new happenings. The tribesmen were not taught to conduct themselves as to cause the least dislocation and consequent disaster in the lives of the tribesmen. They could be made to remember how in the older days the aryan conquerors did when thrown together with the backward 'Sakas', they adopted their Gods and deities, ate their own parthians and so on. The tribesmen were placed in the hierarchy. Lord Jagannath the Sakas deity, was treated with the highest esteem and that regard continues till to-day. Lord Rama, a deity who was not a part of the tribesmen's religion and was made friends with the tribesmen of the plains. The people of Ramnagar are replete with instances of such friendship. In other words, a conscious effort was made in the past to integrate, to synthesize

the Aryan and the Tribal cultures in which there was a two way process of give and take that enriched both the cultures, and what is more important, both the people considered themselves as architects of the emerging culture as a result of the fusion. Both continued to give their respective contributions as equal partners. Let us consider the picture that the present holds in this field. We are very familiar with the complaint that is often made of the indifference of the backward tribal people, their lack of enthusiasm towards programmes of welfare that under the blink or other disguises are being executed for their welfare. We often meet with the lament of the block personnel, social workers and others connected with the execution of these programmes or the difficulty they have to face in making any such programmes - the tribal areas, successful. For want of understanding and active participation by the tribals. The common answer most probably would be that the tribal should be made to understand and appreciate the nature and content of the programmes of development. No doubt, this is a fundamental matter and is important, has to be understood by all social workers engaged in his kind of work. But an equally important side we often lose sight of and that is the import of personal contact. The manner in which the social worker conducts

himself in his day-to-day work, tribal contact with the tribals is of as great importance as the understanding of the tribal culture, the aspirations and aptitudes of the tribal people, their felt needs and so on. The social worker has to carefully engross his conduct in the sphere of his work. He has to be sincere and has to impress that he is believing sincerely in the programmes of work he is engaged upon for execution. He should plan his work as if he perceives that he may use for the tribals to follow. He must be ought to have ideas about social engineering and practice them correctly and well.

It would also be well worth remembering in this context an old Sanskrit verse which runs as following —

‘आचारान् अनुलेखयान्
 व्यवहारं परिकल्पयान्
 इतिवर्जितं न वाच्यम्
 दूषणमपि तथा विज्ञेयम्’

In the process of culture contact every one of us has to be careful to see that as far as practicable the absorption of the values and traits of each other is avoided and the two way traffic that should be established flows in the more desirable aspects of the enriching both and becoming to be mutually something better than when each had

Introduction

The Gonds of Orissa according to the 1951 census are divided into 14 tribes. They are widely dispersed over the districts of Sundergarh, Sambalpur, Boudh, Kalahandi and the northern portion of Koraput district.

There is a great difference in the economic standing of the tribes inhabiting the districts of Sundergarh, Sambalpur, Boudh, and northern portion of Kalahandi (parts of Orissa) and has it been doing a slow pace movement. They were before incorporated in the Hindu social category and enjoy the status of a cultivator-caste-tribe caste. In spite of this formal integration there is a strong subgroup feeling among them and a sense of psychological maladjustment is perceptible in all their social dealings. This characteristic justifies their inclusion in the list of the Scheduled Tribes.

There are two groups of tribes inhabiting the southern portion of Kalahandi district and the northern portion of the Koraput district. These people maintain their distinctive tribal language and culture. They speak Gondi, which is a Dravidian language widely used by the tribes of Central India. At present they have nothing in common with the other group of Gonds excepting the name. An analysis of the kinship structure of the both the groups, however, shows evidence of historical connections.

The present paper is based on data from the first group.

Purpose of the paper

The purpose of the paper is to equip the field workers with a set of instructions to deal with the Gonds in the course of doing welfare work among them. The paper intends to specify categories of does and don'ts for the field worker. The paper is divided into two parts. The first part concerns the general dealings of the field worker with the tribe. The second part discusses the mode of his dealing in concrete work.

PART I

General Dealings

1. *Approaching the tribe.*—The field worker should remember he is not approaching a backward and primitive tribe but dealing with one people who have been assimilated into the Hindu social system for centuries, and who are very proud of their name and tribal tradition. They should not be given the impression of being backward and primitive. Rather they should be told that they had been so owing to neglect and now in recognition of this, the Government has accorded special privileges.

The field worker should not let the people think that any scheme is being imposed upon them. The Gonds do not like to be told that they are backward and inferior to others better than them. The field worker should be so manipulative as to elicit suggestions from them.

(c) The tradition of the Gonds should be borne in mind which regard the leadership pattern among them. The field worker should know that it is very important to locate proper leaders among a people who are allergic to all types of authority except that determined by their own culture. Among the Gonds the elderly people and the big land owners and the ex-Gaundias (ex-Zameendars) have great prestige. The field worker should rely on these people. Much of the success of welfare projects would arise from success and consequently prestige the attitude of the people might undergo a change and it might become possible to bring about a new crop of leaders.

2. *The conduct of the field worker among the Gonds.* (a) The field worker should not ask the people to do such menial work for him as carrying his luggage, cooking for him and washing his plates and drawing water for him, etc. The Gonds feel insulted if they are asked to do domestic work for anybody even for payment of money. The field worker should carry very little luggage with him and should manage his own work. It is certain that, if he can make himself popular friendly help would be forthcoming and he might get service to abundance which he could not have got for payment.

(b) There is a general impression that there are no social morality among the tribal people. This impression is both false and harmful. I ascertain that the actual behaviour of certain tribes is very different. The Gonds may have some rules which are rigid for them especially where outsiders are concerned. Among the Gonds there are certain rules of behaviour which are very strict. The rules of marriage and attitude towards women do not differ from the others they are more rigidly observed due to their martial and caste system. The field worker should be exceptionally cautious about his behaviour towards Gond women. He should

not, however, show acquaintance with them. If he can mix with the elderly women and win their affection, he can get a host of more readily accepted by the people.

(c) There are certain tribes who are very much aroused by payment of money or the promise of such payment. This is not the case with the Gonds. They, on the other hand, look down upon those who want to do things by payment of money. The field worker can be successful if he can put his a fund of sympathy for them and show an aptitude to understand their problems and troubles. The field worker should try to know the troubles of the individuals and should try to settle them even if they do not come under his strict official jurisdiction. He may carry a chest of medicine with him.

(d) The Gonds are very common ailments. He should try to avoid administering medicine in serious cases and should arrange proper medical treatment for them.

3. *Characteristics of a field worker which the field worker should bear in mind regarding welfare work among the Gonds.* (a) The field worker should try to keep himself in the background as far as possible and push into prominence those who have capacity for leadership.

For example, who is regarded most of he should not become the President, nor the Chief Spokesman. He should have good discussions with the people in private and should arrange that the proper person can be elected to the post. The things shall be talked about.

(b) The field worker should not try to introduce more than one scheme at a time in a village. His principle should be to introduce one scheme at a time. I would, however, be convenient for him if he introduces the same scheme in a number of contiguous villages.

(c) The field worker should always remember that no problem is important and no scheme is necessary unless the people think them to be so. He should not be guided by his own notions of importance and necessity. His first effort, therefore, should be to find out what the Gonds want so that their maximum co-operation can be guaranteed.

(d) The Gonds are very reluctant to travel any distance outside their village to receive any assistance or technical advice. The field worker should, therefore, make efforts to see that such assistance reaches the Gond in his own village.



In order to be acceptable, no scheme should be a mere imitation of making a sharp departure from accepted ways of doing things. It should be so simple and easy to imitate the form while changing the content. For example, while introducing a housing scheme a pattern of Gond house may be used as a model to be made.

PART II

Instructions regarding specific projects

(1) Colonisation Scheme—The Colonisation Scheme is meant for those primitive tribes who live in remote hill areas under very difficult

conditions and who practise shifting cultivation. The Gonds do not come under this category. They live in plain areas along with other rural people and practise stable agriculture. The field worker should not, therefore, try to introduce colonisation among them.

(2) Multipurpose Co-operative Societies—Apart from agriculture the Gond has practically no other employment. He does not ordinarily work as a day labourer as he thinks such work to be derogatory. The field worker, therefore, should try to introduce cottage industries and handicrafts among them through multipurpose co-operative societies which should supply the capital and arrange for production and sale.

Here it should be borne in mind that there are certain handicrafts such as basket weaving, etc., considered derogatory by the Gonds. Such work should not be undertaken by the multipurpose co-operative societies.

(3) Grain-garhi—Gond indebtedness is an acute problem. This is not only due to the high price of grain but also to the fact that the Gonds are compelled to buy or borrow at a time when the price is at its highest.

The grain-garhi is a scheme in which the Gonds are allowed to grow grain on a plot of land which they can be very easily and cheaply get from the Government. The grain-garhi is the most common and the most successful scheme among the Gonds. It belongs to the Agharia or the Gonds and is a very old scheme. It is a scheme in which the Gonds are allowed to grow grain on a plot of land which they can be very easily and cheaply get from the Government. The grain-garhi is the most common and the most successful scheme among the Gonds. It belongs to the Agharia or the Gonds and is a very old scheme. It is a scheme in which the Gonds are allowed to grow grain on a plot of land which they can be very easily and cheaply get from the Government.

The field worker should, therefore, try to introduce this scheme in a humble manner and should not try

to compete with the money-lenders at the first market he should expand its scope gradually. He should make efforts to secure the availability of credit at times.

(4) Forest Co-operative Societies

The Gonds, though reluctant to work as day labourers elsewhere, do not object to work for contractors in the forest as this type of work remunerates them and provides a substitute for their favourite post-hunt-hunting. They are always exploited by these contractors.

The introduction of forest co-operative societies can be very effective among the Gonds and the field worker should attach due importance to them. The Gonds are not interested in them and are also quite unpopular and as such they are not easy to handle in the beginning.

The field worker should remember that the Gonds regard the forest as their own property and are very much agitated about the forest rules. Introduction of forest co-operative societies may give them the impression that they can do with the forest as they like. The field worker should guard against this from the beginning because once they take liberty with the forest it would be very difficult to check this process.

(5) Poultry Rearing—Meat is the

main article of diet for the Gonds which they mainly relied upon hunting. The demand for meat has been very drastically curtailed as present and meat is very scarce. Poultry rearing, therefore, has a immense scope among them.

The field worker should remember that it is not possible for the Gond to have a large number of flocks and expense which the rearing of such breeds as the Rhode Island and the Rhode Islands require. Therefore, he should always insist on country birds.

(6) Cottage Industries—The Gonds live in an area which is rich in such jungle products as cane, lac, etc.

Cottage industries to organise their products and the job is limited products has a good scope among them.

The Gonds are a the habit of being nomadic and a habit of the small stage but due to their religious beliefs and the general conditions for work they drop half way. The field worker should, therefore, introduce a small number of these schemes and give his constant attention to them for a number of years.

(7) Adult Education and Poly-Technical Institutes—The duty of the field worker regarding these schemes is to induce the people to send their children for training in these institutes, while working among the Gonds the field worker has to rely on the prosperous headmen as they are the people who have capacity for leadership. Naturally, he should know how to handle them. But his action among the Gonds are always slow and he should have a long term plan for the village and tribes.

It is, therefore, necessary for the field worker to approach the poorer section in this respect. The landless people would be more willing to send their children for such training.

(8) Pisciculture—The Gonds are used to eggs a suitable tank is to be constructed for the purpose of pisciculture. But here the field worker is evince a certain difficulty. These tanks are generally the property of the ex-Gaonwans and the development of pisciculture can benefit only a very limited number of people.

The field worker should, therefore, try his best though he should not always insist on it, to get these tanks handed over to the poorest Gonds or to some co-operative society.

(9) Rearing of Bees—This is a scheme where small equipment is applicable and which can enrich the

otherwise deficient. Gonds distrust Generals, & the people do not take this without cause.

The Gonds can be induced to adopt bee-keeping, if the field worker can successfully persuade a tribe or a village by his own efforts. He can make the people see the honey in order to induce them.

The field worker should not only induce the Gonds to adopt bee-keeping, but also to adopt other useful occupations. He should induce them to adopt bee-keeping, if the field worker can successfully persuade a tribe or a village by his own efforts. He can make the people see the honey in order to induce them.

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(11) *Social Welfare Centres*—Social Welfare Centres are established for the benefit of women. To induce Gond women to take the benefit of these centres the field worker should promote the services of female workers. He may also, if he can induce the elderly women of a village to attract the work.

It has been found that usually these centres adopt a set pattern of work regardless of the needs of the women of the area. The field worker should induce the women of a village to make the centre the focus of such activities as would cater to those needs.

(12) *Rural Welfare Centres*—It is also found that, the benefits of a Rural Welfare Centre is taken only by the village where it is established. The field worker should see that the other villages also derive benefits from it. He should also arrange for the welfare guide to go to other villages to impart such technical knowledge as would be felt necessary.

(13) *Education*—The Gonds, who are sometimes reluctant to send their children to school, are sometimes induced to do so by the field worker. The field workers should induce them by saying that if they do not send their children to school others would march past by them and they would be left behind. If a sense of competition is announced they would not be reluctant.

Ch ideas are often sent to the Ashram Schools because they are given free boarding and lodging. In very few cases, the importance of training received in the school is realized. When the children return after the completion of their education, there is to be of no use.

It is after the schooling is completed that the real work of the field worker begins. He should always keep contact with them and try to interest them in the various welfare activities described here. He should also try

to induce them to go for higher training and keep their reforms also in view about the scope of employment.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion it can be said that, he can guide the children and always his common sense and experience to which he should always refer to tackle any problem. The points laid down here are only guidelines for conduct and should not be taken up as rigid prompts.

ROMINISCENCES OF AN ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER IN THE KANDH ILLS

Balaguda Taluk is a compact area of about 800 sq. miles in the Boudh-Phudun district. It touches Koraput district and Ganjam scheduled areas on the south, Kalahandi on the west, Bolnagar and Boudh on the north and Kandaman and G. Lda on the east. The Tel the Khadag, the Boda, the Sapra are the major streams flowing through the area. The area is very rich in so, although it is not of the best species. Soa, Pigeon etc., valuable fobers just grow wild. The flora and fauna are interesting and abundant. The majority of the population is Kandh and he is

were being indulged in by the population in the last century. The population was of a wild stock and a contingent of the Ganjam hill police used to be stationed at Balaguda. Reclamation of forests in the area was undertaken in the latter part of his century. There was

he is a remained mostly a habit of which animals with hands of wild elephants roaming about. The population is sparse and the people (Adibasi) live in primitive indifference of what is going on in the world around them. Schools are fairly numerous but the school-masters are themselves illiterate in most cases. The Adibasi finds no charm or use in

in or field hands and by their going to school, he would have to that of supplementary hand hands to assist him and domestic hands to assist the housewife in collecting the edible roots in winter the green edible leaves in summer the molasses and mango in summer and the bamboo shoots during rains. Most important is lack of water which miserably has a not less than a running from the village. Paddy has to be

thrashed - mango kernel and unmarred apples have been a common sight. Who is to attend to all these, if the girls and boys go out for education? The system of education is feudalish. For children of status the drab four walls of a school under a teacher who either does not know the language or knows it indifferently is most unappealing. I met a girl, The ignorant taught are far above the IQ of an Adibasi child. The subject-matter is of no interest to the child. He would follow it with interest, if the lessons and each age has some resemblance with the conditions in the hills. Wild animals, birds, trees would be within easy reach of a child here. Stories from Ramayana, topics or words in vogue in the Plains area, are foreign. The songs taught do

Adibasi child. The count of numbers, arithmetic, etc., need be taught. The child, compelled or coerced, goes to school, reads for a few years and leaves it to forget immediately all that had been taught. The child religious enough, his nature which had always been making him in want

teaching. He gives up or rather throws up his hands at the teachings. Why, is the good of this method of teaching, of the curriculum adopted, of the subject-matters taught, if it does not succeed in inspiring the interest of the taught?

The model curriculum should be one according to the present practice of basic education. The Adibasi should be taught numbers with trees with models, arithmetic should be taught with illustration from the animal kingdom. Moral lessons should be taught with reference to the animal kingdom and the Adibasi themselves living in the area. Rama, son of Dasaratha, Shreeji the great Mahabharata, Gower Chandra Vidyasaagar the

to take some materialistic interest in the area. He is called to the Village Panchayat, takes part in village politics, till on reaching the peak of importance, he attracts the notice of the Inspecting Officers and is transferred.

The second type is again divided into two classes—the Advika teacher including the Pano and his teacher from among the Oriya settlers. Both these classes a general term are not men of any great intelligence. They are men of a low degree of imagination and understanding. In many cases they repeat the lessons without fully understanding the principles. Even though they could make the lessons interesting to the Advika child, they never try to do it. In older days, this class of teachers was making sincere attempts to discharge a duty.

Their absence from the schools was less frequent, of shorter duration and because of their reasons, they found it more convenient to stay at the schools. Of late with the penetration of political parties, etc., this class is now more important in the eyes of the foreigners and the teachers are gradually being interested in the schools. There is a

the good grace of the persons referred to above. There is also less disciplinary control over them because of their usefulness to persons and

class are showing signs of deterioration.

There is a sharp difference between the Oriya settler and the Advika and

is more a hat gone-winded. He is

own importance as an Advika teacher. He

ever, manifested in any superiority.

all hands. It is true it is a narrow and pardonable thing.

It is generally a non-reader and closes

settler or the Advika settler.

known as a malignant and

stating that he is rarely caught in his absence. He teaches what is in the syllabus and nothing more. He realises that he is working for his head and bread alone and is purely

know the Advika language and the

them. They are very well, suffer from a superiority complex as they know full well that they are more intelligent than the Advika. They look down the Advika and Oriya children with contempt but on account of their superior intelligence manage to remain un-

made not consciously. They work themselves into the confidence of the Advika and wherever there is any agitation, they are bound to have a direct or indirect hand in it.

It is the class which can be abused successfully in giving the Advika the proper education. The Pano teacher understands the psychology of the Advika and his language. He can follow the change if introduced and he alone can make himself perfectly understood. It is persons of this class who can help in drawing up a syllabus and curriculum for the Advika child. It has, however, to be kept in mind that he needs close and strict supervision. He is by nature a sharker and if the best part of him is required, he should be kept under control. Being intelligent he chafes at strict control and so the control has to be rigid and elastic. Another point about him is that his guidance

superiority complex and his contempt for the Advika sometimes makes him violent and cruel.

I would only be proper to close this note with a few words about the Inspecting Officer. They are all efficient, capable and competent. They come to this hill to do their duty thoroughly. They always start on right earnest but as time passes on, the monotony of the place, the long and empty distances, the frequent attacks of malaria damp their spirits. The inconvenience of undertaking tours with

only one Peon, the lack of other amenities, the thoroughly inadequate agency allowance and factors which would apprise anyone of the spirit of these drawbacks, he himself. Officers have been on the verge of revolt. It is true that they would do no harm. Government is weak.

Marriage among the Kori Kondhs

The Kori Kondhs have customs which are different from those observed by their brothers further north. The Kori Kondhs have three forms of marriage, the first when aided by a negotiator, the second where the parents bring about the match and the third primitive type of marriage. The marriage negotiations take place some days before the groom goes to the village where the bride lives. There is a meeting by the bride's people brought by the groom's people. The bride's people then go to the groom's village and throw an arrow through the first into the roof of the house. It is a just about the entrance. They depart hurriedly. If the bride's people do not favour the match and if the groom's people throw a second arrow, they would very soon leave. It is for this reason that they leave in a hurry instead of waiting for the effect. The group comes in silence and departure is quick.

The custom seems to be a remnant of the primitive way of winning a bride by sheer prowess and fight. The arrow is practically the weapon which the Kori Kondhs regard his proficiency in its use secures him food, saves him from wild animals and means that a place is won in the tribe. The arrow or rather the arrow of the family which he grows belongs to in question and not the individual.

On the third day the party again goes to the village to see what has been done to the arrow. The party goes silently and sits on the verandah of the bride for a while and then returns.

The superiority of the male is thus maintained. He makes overtures but does not pursue them. He does not make himself appear anxious about the match. The arrow is a suggestion that the match should come from the bride's side.

The bride's people see their coming, see them while sitting but there is no exchange of greetings or words between them. If, however, the bride's people do not approve of the match, they throw away the arrow towards the groom's party who is leaving saying "We do not give our girl." Sometimes the bride's people have a horse. This is not done as a final refusal because the match makes sense—"Where will the girl go if her parents give her to us?" If the parents of the girl throw the arrow, the match is finally given up.

If the arrow is not pulled out, the party returns again on the third day. The members sit on the verandah. There is no talk and the party returns after a while. If the arrow is not pulled out even then, it is taken for granted that the proposed match is accepted.

The next year or the month of Magh, the bride. They sit on the verandah of the groom's house. The bride is decided on in an early Khanda. The usual Khanda or set is called three heads, big bell-metal plates two, bell-metal discs six (Kansa), one bell-metal and one beifer. This is the Khanda in the case of affluent persons. If the groom's family is poor, the Khanda is reduced to a violent and it is composed of either three heads, bell-metal, shell and bell-metal Kansa four, bell-metal one and beifer one. In either case, the three heads of cattle are for the marriage feast. The former is known as Dees Khanda and the latter as Ala Khanda.

When the parties come to an agreement about the Khanda, the

party returns home the same evening.

In the month of Mugh following or a Fagun before Purnima, the Kheeda comes to the bride's house. If the Kheeda cannot be delivered by these days, time is taken till Pousha or Ashadha following.

After the Khanda is dowered, the bride people go within a week of that day on a tour. As is usual with the Adime, they carry with them rice and vegetables. They are welcomed warmly and stay at the groom's house.

work. The party consists of men and women, but the house is not in the party. They leave after six days, to growen's

is good. There is a fear of the birds
are meted. The fear of off one two
to drink. The index of the good

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

The marriage feast is big affair. The

the movie plays. There is no Ch music or shade made near the house. The girl is delivered to the house of

[illegible]

The bride does not speak to anyone.

[illegible]

The parents payed no attention to the way she was acting. The sequel is then forced at a party par-

(See Keadra, p. 78)

Trends Observed in the Mixed Study

[illegible]

There is nothing of an ordeal in this and he went on, if he substituted rage with all the fervour and sincerity

N. K. BHUKTA

NATURE OF AUTHORITY
STRUCTURE AND JUDICIAL
MACHINERY OF THE
CHETILARKUSAVAN AND
PALLAN OF VILLAPURAM

*Here are two cases of similar nature, the one occurred among the Chettiar-kusavans of Ayazpuram village and the other among the Chettiar-kusavans of Villapuram village. Both the villages are within the Villapuram taluk of South Arcot district.

Case No. 1, Chettiar-kusavan case, April 1931.

Siddhartha, the elder daughter of Swarnam, conceived as a result of her illegal intimacy with Chandran

a Vallala youth of the same village (The Vallalas are higher than the Chettiar-kusavans in the regional caste ranking.) The incident created an obstreperous turmoil among the caste members of the village. Since Swarnam's renowned Swarnam was away from home, he was working as an industrial worker at Madras.

One day during the month of April 1931, Laxamma, the mother of the girl who was the lover of Chandran, daughter's wedding expenses due to the father's death accumulated. However she corroborated the affair from

*The first part of this paper was published in *Andhra*, 1934-35, no. 1.

his ancestral home and two perform the marriage of his second daughter. By this time, his case had already been relegated to the oblique by his Kut Sato-chirangal, but when he returned back to the village so as to live among his Kut Sato-chirangal, the last issue revived *per se*.

Some other members of the caste group became agitated and movements were created a sort of commotion within the group for inflicting proper vengeance on Swamirva.

At the first instance, the gowam-talipantar asked Swamirva not to enter into their domain, and further he added that in case she would choose to enter their domain, he would be forced to pose it mainly a problem for Swamirva to occupy his home. From this, he realised the magnitude of the forthcoming trouble, hence he quickly agreed to abide by the dictates of the Parachayankuram which was stated against him. And in fact, he performed the obsequies of his daughter Sadamirva and, along with his family members, brought the corpse of the girl headman into the caste fold and finally paid a fine of rupees fifty to the Parachayankuram for his refractory attitude, a defying its decisions so long.

Case history No. 2 November 1955 Pallan Case

Paranma, a Pallan girl of Karamangalam village developed illegitimacy with Chochuan, a Parayyan youth. (The Parayyans are considered inferior than the Pallans in the regional caste ranking, the former are drummers and the latter are agriculturists, labourers).

Scandals spread out among the Pallan womenfolk of the village regarding Paranma's intimate association with Chochuan. On enquiry her parents detected that the vituperative

rumour against her was a fact. One day she slipped away from her home and tried to elope with Chochuan, when she came to know that some party had worded themselves for her. So, she could not succeed in her secret attempt due to Chochuan's recalcitrance. She was caught and brought back home by some of her relatives. On this occasion, she was taken into a task by her parents. The parents of Chochuan would her attitude. In spite of all the scolding and rebuking, she was very stubborn and obstinate and ultimately, pooled to marry Chochuan.

Chochuan, her father consulted the Karamangalam Karamangalam and gowam talipantar respectively in the matter. They then their attempt to dissuade Paranma from the marriage which was compulsory for her parents and the caste group. Both of them on their failure referred the matter to Narashiman, the caste headman. Narashiman came to Chochuan's house and talked to Paranma. He found her as adamant on her stand as before. And after this, he held that when the girl was so much infatuated with Chochuan, she would not be able with a the caste fold under coercion. Any way he converted the meeting of the caste council to adjourn the matter. The council decided that the girl would never be allowed to go with a low caste boy. Further, it nominated the headman and two other members

to the caste council of Chochuan (Parayyan caste council) at Karamangalam and see the matter to the end by starting

Karamangalam. On Parayyan was contacted accordingly. He brought Chochuan and his father to Narashiman's house for settlement of the issue. At Narashiman's house Gopalan, Rajan and other leaders of the Pallan caste group had collected to meet and discuss the issue with Karamangalam secretly. These

on being asked to do so. He was a doting father and a devoted husband.

Anna could do as she liked. She was a free woman, and however he was willing to marry her. Gundaa got married at Changan.

One of the things all of a sudden. He was a doting father and a devoted husband. He was a doting father and a devoted husband. He was a doting father and a devoted husband.

aggravated. He was a doting father and a devoted husband. He was a doting father and a devoted husband. He was a doting father and a devoted husband.

not to give vent to their bitterness at a time when the relationship of both their caste groups were endangered. The protest issue concerning both the caste groups was not settled peacefully. The consequences could ensue from it a form of vengeance. He asked upon Karmayin a order not to deteriorate their relationship. The latter must finally prevent Chetan.

secondly must not give any publicity to the matter.

Palma caste did not remain satisfied with these two conditions of Nanth. He further wanted Chetan to swear in the name of god to the detriment of Peramma to sever all contact with the father for ever. Karmayin complied with the conditions of the Palma and Chetan did.

The matter did not end here. Because he was a doting father and a devoted husband.

from Chetan for to be a doting father and a devoted husband. He was a doting father and a devoted husband. He was a doting father and a devoted husband.

said by Chetan to the Palma. He was a doting father and a devoted husband. He was a doting father and a devoted husband. He was a doting father and a devoted husband.

The agreed fine was realized with in the stipulated period, a sum of rupees forty was paid to Chetan to spread for the marriage of Peramma. and the rest was a sum of rupees was credited to the caste fund. The

spurious one, viz., air-popping, karum or goat krum (this rite is performed in favour of a defuncting woman of the cast and a reference, who is implicated with the charge of a gross breach of the caste code and thus polluted, with a view to purifying her from the sin and moreover deterring her from further recourse to the same) of Peramma commenced three days later. It was conducted at the backyard of Chetan at midnight so as to conceal the matter from other castes.

Peramma went through the ordeal of the rite by swearing in the name of god as well as her family ancestors that she would not again debate and argue to herself. She swore seven times, taking a dip in the nearby tank after each ritual and at a different spot each time. After each bath she stepped over the flame of the ember spread over the shrouded corpse of the slaughtered goat. At the end of the rite members of the caste council were entertained to a simple feast by Chetan.

After about a month Peramma was married to Chetan.

The marriage was agreed upon by both the parties at the initiative of their fathers. The bride price was a simple wedding or dowry from the girl's father instead of paying the latter a sum of money.

Peramma mothered a female child after about six months of her marriage with Shantham, but they were divorced from each other after enjoying a conjugal life for about two years. Thereafter Peramma again married Nantham of her caste, and the latter accepted as step-child the baby born to the father of her previous wedlock.

Discussion—Both the foregoing cases are of the same nature as they refer to inter-caste pre-marital sex-cesses. But there is a perceptible difference in them, inasmuch as in the one case

the girl's caste ranks lower in position in the social order than that of her paramour and the second case is just the converse.

In the former case, Chandren's flirtation with Subbaswami was purely on a love-of-lusticious-pleasure type, however, had no intention of marriage. But when the latter's manager, a Brahmin, came to her to propose marriage, she was so much surprised that she refused to do so. In this case, the girl's caste was higher than that of the boy, and her indignation against him regarding his involvement with Subbaswami, when he was approached. And his father's disapproval of the girl's refusal to deliver herself purely on 'kama'-and-pleasure type, and go off with him, was not without purpose. The father, if he wanted to maintain the caste would have been concerned for prestige considerations.

The second case, the girl's caste was lower, took in negotiating with Chandren, or allowing Subbaswami to propose was not without an interest, as well as of propinquity. Had not Alan, an uncle of Subbaswami, pressed upon the counsel to do some thing to help her surely it would not have taken up the matter with Chandren. But one thing is significant to note here that the counsel led by the girl's caste representative failed in their bid to help her. The girl's caste representative failed in their bid to help her, and she was left upon her vindictive character as the purpose of assistance.

Swaminathan, the girl's caste representative, did not adjust with reality with the decision to marry. He was so much surprised that he refused to do so. In this case, the girl's caste was lower than that of the boy, and her indignation against him regarding his involvement with Subbaswami, when he was approached, was not without purpose. The father, if he wanted to maintain the caste would have been concerned for prestige considerations.

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In this paper an attempt has been made to present the proceedings of a 'Jati Sava' (Caste-meeting) of the Kisan tribe which was observed by the writer during his field work in the Sundargarh district of North Orissa in the year 1962. The chief purpose of presenting the proceeding is to show how the new Kisan leaders are trying to bring reforms and social movement in their society through the mechanism of caste meetings. (In my analysis the present caste meeting is compared with the traditional *savna*, Kisan gathering described later on. Finally I have suggested how such caste meeting can be utilized in welfare work and in bringing social change in tradition-oriented tribal culture.)

The Kisans have spread over an extensive area through the wide process of migration either in search of land or for labour. They are good earth workers, and are generally very industrious, with a passion for agriculture. They live in multi-caste and multi-tribal villages and have remarkably adapted themselves to the local culture of the regions where they have settled. The social status of the Kisans is very

low. They are considered as low untouchables and no caste Hindu accepts water from them. On the contrary they strictly refrain from accepting cooked food from the hands of others, and in the past they never touched food from the hands of even Brahmins who enjoyed the highest position in the esteem of feudal chiefs and others. Thus in spite of their residence in caste Hindu villages and close contact with outsiders they remained somewhat segregated and could retain some particular features of their traditional culture namely a distinct language, their interesting dance and music, peculiar rituals and songs.

In multi-caste Hindu villages the Kisans had almost accepted their low status and neither challenged nor revolted against their degrading position. But during the last thirty years, with the spread of education, modernisation and other social movements to abolish untouchability a new consciousness arose amongst the Kisan leaders of Sundargarh and as a consequence of this they have organised the caste assembly called the 'Kisan Jati Mahasava' after the pattern of the caste

assemblies of neighbouring castes such as the Agharias, the Telis and the Kachhatis, etc. Though the 'Kuan Jan Mahasava' is organised after the traditional caste assembly of Hindu society it is a new institution so far the Kuanas are concerned. The Kuanas derived much of their inspiration during anti-British and national movement. At the attainment of national independence and the merger of India, coincident with the former British Indian State of Orissa and the magnanimous and raised their level of aspiration. They organised and re-organised the caste assembly with redoubled energy and tried to push forward their programmes by abolishing superstitious beliefs and eradicating the traditional practices which have been considered degrading. The proceedings of the meeting prove how much aware they are of the need to improve the social, educational and economic condition of their fellow men.

The Jurisdiction of the caste meeting

The present 'Kuan Jan Mahasava' has not covered all the Kuan areas so far, though the organisers have that lofty aspiration in view. The present Sava, first started in the feudal state of Gangpur especially in the present district of Badgam some thirty years ago under the leadership of Janga Kuan of Kurubaga. This meeting roughly covers the whole of Gangpur state though Kuanas of Paspoah and Rourkela area rarely join in it. Besides, some portions of upper Bamunda and Jajpur areas (Zamada, etc.) of Sambalpur district are also covered by the present

Jan Sava. In Bana and Bamunda they have respective separate organisations while in other parts of Sambalpur proper (Khat) no such caste organisation has evolved so far.

Made of Initiative

The Kuan Jan Mahasava does not hold its meetings regularly. Sometimes the meetings have been held at intervals of three to four years, or at times these have been held annually. Before summoning a meeting the organisers consult the leading persons of the community and send messages to each village. They have no formal office-bearers, either paid or honorary. So the most important persons take the responsibility of summoning the meeting. The meeting described in this paper was held in the village Barula in 1962.

In the Barula meeting there was some speciality. Previously the notice which was circulated was drafted in Orisa and was hand written. Sometimes messengers were engaged to visit the different Kuan villages. This year's notice was in Kuan language but the script was Orisa. The notice was cyclostyled in large numbers and one such notice was sent to each Kuan village lying within the police-stations of Ragganpur and Badgam in Sundergarh district. Most of the notices were distributed in the local weekly market, but the organisers also personally visited some of the villages to circulate the notice. The notice was addressed to all Kuan members over the signature of important Kuan. It was stipulated in the notice that areas three and three paise of tax would be collected for each

delegates and the amount thus collected from each village should be deposited with Jata Mitr of Birula. The meeting was fixed to be held on the 1st May 1951 at 9 a.m.

Description of the Meeting

The meeting was held in a mango grove adjacent to the entrance of the village. Some tarpaulins had been hung as a canopy to protect the audience from the sun. The ground was covered with mats and hay. A table, two chairs and two benches were placed for the President and distinguished persons. Some flower garlands were kept for important persons and dogs. A big water vessel with glasses was kept at a corner for drinking. At a little distance under a mango tree, vendors of the village were engaged in cooking for the participants.

The meeting could not be started exactly at 9 o'clock in the morning on account of poor attendance. By that time only a hundred persons had joined the meeting while other delegates were gradually pouring into the meeting. Before the start of the meeting the delegates were asked to finish their bath and take their meals cooked by the village youths. The expense was met by donations raised from participating villages which sent their delegates.

By the time the meeting commenced, nearly an hundred people representing roughly one hundred villages, had gathered in the meeting ground. A few women of the village were seated on the front row of the meeting. Important delegates including women were garlanded before the commencement of the meeting. The President, two Joint

Secretaries and a Treasurer were selected and the new President occupied the chair.

The meeting started in a calm atmosphere with the recital of vedic hymns by the delegate of Gudhali, a Pracharak (Preacher) of the Arya Samaj, serving under the Veda Vyasa Centre in Sundargarh.

In this plentiful session nearly fifteen persons delivered their speeches in their own mother-tongue the Kisan language. All the speakers attacked some evil practices of the tribe and suggested how they can advance by educating their children. Before giving the summary of their speeches a few explanatory notes may be given on the following terms.

Madu Jatra

It is a sort of inter-village dance meeting which is held in the spring and winter seasons. It is a festival of youths. During the cycle of such Madu Jatra batches of unmarried and married young men and women go round from village to village and dance throughout the night in a particular village. As the festival is celebrated each night in a village, the entire cycle of the Jatra takes weeks for completion. It is reported that much of sexual laxity takes place during such dancing sessions. Therefore the Kisan leaders are very keen in abolishing this Madu Jatra.

Gulha war

In Sundargarh area the liquor con-tractors have been permitted to dispatch their output distilleries. But in order to get more profit they illegally open small liquor shops in almost all tribal villages by bribing the village

asked "Why should we hold such meetings and discuss a very high social, long resolution without discussing how far these have been achieved?" "We would not take it far," he said, "so long as they are not strictly enforced."

The delegate of Tennerpore (Age 35) besides remarking the utility of education and civil effort of gallant liquor emphasised the need of restricting the movement of Kamen women. "Women are like Lathi", he said, 'on whom depend the prestige of a people. Our women go to markets, work in factories and mines and thus come in contact with various people who take advantage of the free movement of our women. As such we should take care of our women folk and should not allow them to go out freely wherever they like."

The delegate of Kartaimura, a young Ashram School Teacher (Age 27), in an impressive speech asked audience not to just hear something in the meeting and do the contrary at home. He explained how a person who sincerely tries to translate the reformative proposals into action is un-erely criticised and set against the village. Explaining how the introduction of Nado corrupts young girls and gives free license to young men, he enquired "Why girls go to dance at the Nado? Why our girls are entangled in fornication?" Exploring the reasons for such events he answered "It is because the parents do not take care of their daughters. They do not give their girls in marriage early. No doubt they perform the betrothal ceremony quite early or in time. But the girls are not given away in marriage at appropriate time. The bridegroom's

people come each year, request the bride's father to give his daughter in marriage but he turns a deaf ear to their entreaties. The girl in our society earns and the parents like to enjoy the fruits of her labour. With the postponement of her marriage she is forced to satisfy her sexual urge in illicit ways. Finally when the girl is married away she is completely substantiated like the skinned milk out of which butter has been taken away" (Loud laughter).

The newly elected Joint Secretary, the Chief Organizer of that year's meeting, a young high school teacher (Age 27) emphasised mainly on the need of educating women. Deprecating the present low status of Kamen women who work as labourers and fall an easy prey to temptations he stressed the need of educating them. "Our women should be educated. They should come forward and join in open meeting where they can discuss their own problems. Every individual should try to educate his daughter or daughter-in-law. He should warnment; the Kamen Social system regarding Shama (Quasi) Shamas (cornels) and Man (witch-doctor) and appealed to all to give up such blind faith and judge everything rationally. He assured that they were trying to get Government grant for construction of a building for the Kamen Jati Sabha."

The meeting continued till evening. Besides the above speakers two primary school teachers, a factory worker and two land owning cultivators gave their speeches almost in the same line. Finally the President, a reputed political worker, who worked in Praga Mandal during pre-independence days, emphasised in his short speech how people should try to understand things correctly and adopt right things in

space of hindrances. To illustrate this point he explained, "We know that gullies near shops are illegal and Government should abolish these eventually. But in case Government do not take strong steps these illegal shops would collapse automatically the moment we stop drinking there." He emphasised that the use of liquor in our socio-religious rituals should be abolished altogether. Thus ended the first session.

The Second Sitting

The next sitting which started in the afternoon and continued throughout the entire evening discussed mainly the marriage regulation. Of course no voting was taken or arrived at any decision yet everybody was allowed to participate in the discussion which was very informal. The upper age-limit within which a girl should be given away in marriage, the amount of bride-price for a newly married girl, widowed women and a divorced woman, the social status of offspring of a Kisan father having a spouse of either higher or lower caste, the punishment for a Kisan woman who elopes away with another and such other problems

regarding marriage were discussed. The Secretary took the charge of drafting the regulations on the basis of these discussions.

The meeting continued late in the night. Finally there was the mass dinner in which only rice and Dal were served. The people of nearby villages returned to their own villages while the people of distant villages slept under the mango grove either on mats or on mats spread over the ground.

On the next day (the 2nd May 1962) during the meeting continued as usual though majority of the audience had returned to their respective villages. In the morning session there was further discussion on caste rules and regulations. In the evening two complaints were filed. In one case a woman who had been betrothed to the complainant's son, had been abducted through the form of marriage by intrusion (Dauka) and the complainant had prayed for compensation from the bride's father. But as the members of the other party were not present the trial of the case was postponed for spot enquiry. Finally, the meeting was over at about eleven O'clock.

The Ranas (also known as Rana Pukas) are an Orya speaking caste found mostly around Krapat town and Natarang area of Krapat district. According to their tradition, "Seven brothers, who founded Natarang village in Maharaja's reign as capital of the Raja's country, were his military servants under the Raja there. Rana means 'Rajpala' and Puka Sopya and some of his sons did serve as arms-bearing servants under the Maharaja. Whoever was the source of their migration, the Ranas are a section of the great Puka caste found in large number in Krapat.

Tabular form

Other indigenous sections of the caste are (a) Barhatika Puka, (b) Paha or Dham Puka, (c) Kalia or Kuma Puka. Among these sections, the Barhatika Pukas occupy the highest position in the social hierarchy. But the Ranas do not agree to connect

themselves either with the Barhatika Pukas or Paha Pukas, from whom the former do not accept food. On the other hand, they do not accept food in the hands of Kuma Puka but also have not a quarrel with them. The Ranas do not accept food from any other caste or tribe except Brahmins. But the Barhatika Pukas go far beyond this and do not ask food even in the hands of Brahmins. Moreover when they marry a girl, they do not take into consideration whether she is a common daughter thereof or a Brahmin's, which is because they are not married to any caste but to all of them. The Ranas and Kumas have been since time immemorial to Barhatika Puka. The Paha Pukas who were once beef-eaters in the past occupy the lowest rung of the social ladder. Both the Barhatika and the Rana Pukas wear sacred thread and title themselves as Kshatriya. At present, none of them behave so distinct caste-wise rather than as the sections of the main Puka caste.

The Class -

The Rassa society has got nine exogamous class. Each class is again

sub-divided into several sub-classes. The names of the class and sub-classes are given below

Class	Meaning	Sub-classes ¹
1. Khila	Tiger	Dara, Maa, Maaar, Majhi, Ma k, Makh, Pardhan and Poda.
2. Khara	Sheep	Bada, Dabba, Dabara, Dama, Dara, Finga, Kach, Kachha, Natar, K'ra, Majhi, Pata, Pujari, Pardhan, Sagri.
3. Hama'	Saaka	Pamand Hara
4. Khahodi or Kurbad	Bear	Martina and Ma ra
5. Bardi	Goat	Da-pa, Pujari, Tana, Targal.
6. Garia	Fish	Makh, Majhi, Pardhan.
7. Sani	Cow	Nanda (Nauna,
8. Pangi	Kite	Sangari.
9. Golar	Monkey	

The names of class and sometimes that of sub-classes are used as surnames by the respective clan-members or sub-clan members. Clans having the similar names are also found among the Palla Paika, Kula Paika, Barha-da Paika and Dam.

The Rassa are primarily cultivators but, landless families work as labourers. They produce rice, maize, sugr, munda, kachela, etc., mainly. They also grow various types of vegetables. Forest products are also collected and fishing is resorted to at times. In their spare times they work for wage.

Marriage

Rassa are endogamous and marriage with a Kula Paika only is tolerated. Marriage among them is primarily

governed by the rule of class exogamy. The sub-classes are not signficant from the point of marriage. Cross-cousin marriage (a boy marrying mother's brother's daughter) is preferred and the mother's brother and wife's father are described by the same kush p term (i. e., *Mama* or *Mama*). Monogamy is the common practice, although there is no restriction for polygamous marriage. Widow remarriage is widely approved. In this case the payment of bride-price known as *Shola* is not required to be made. There is provision for both wife and husband to demand for divorce on various grounds, e.g., incompatibility of temperaments, absence of any issue, infidelities and laziness on the part of the wife. To effect a divorce, the

¹ The number of sub-classes is not exhaustive.

sanction of the caste council consisting of the influential caste-members of both the villages (of the husband and the wife) should be obtained and the declaration is to be made before the caste-council. When a person wants to divorce his wife on a reasonable ground, he is required to pay Rs. 500 as compensation to the girl's family and a case of divorce demanded by the wife or parents have to return the bride-price paid during the marriage. Children, if any, stay with the father after divorce.

There is provision for child marriage but it occurs very rarely. Common age at marriage is between 19 to 22 years for boys and 16 to 18 years in case of girls. The boys and girls have freedom in the selection of spouse. Even in case of arranged marriage, the consent of the girl and the boy concerned is obtained. When girl has been captured for marriage, the willingness of the girl is to be sought in the presence of the influential caste-members of the village. If she does not give her consent, she is allowed to go back to her parents. During expedition on the occasions of marriage, the Rana society provides scope for pre-marital familiarity.

The Rana society has provided various ways of acquiring mates for marriage. The present practice is confined to following ways.

- (a) *Marital*—Marriage by negotiation
- (b) *Jatta*—Marriage by elopement
- (c) *Shaka-Ura*—Marriage by cap-

(d) *Patta-mand*—Marriage by abduction.

(e) *Gharpan*—Marriage by service

All the above types of marriage are also found among the Patta Rana, Kuma Rana, Gadba and Pongra.

In the *Marital* type of marriage the bride is selected by the boy's parents with the help of relatives (go-between), who pay several visits to the bride's family till the end of binding ceremony. The bride price known as *Shaka or Panu* which is fixed in a joint meeting of both the parties, generally consists of Rs. 30 to Rs. 150 in cash. If it is paid in kind, it consists of 150 kg of rice, seven pieces of cloths and Rs. 5 in cash. The marriage takes place in the boy's village. The binding ritual of the marriage consists of joining the hands of the bride and the groom by the Dhanu (Priest) near the temporary altar constructed for the purpose. The occasion is marked by dancing, singing and drinking by the persons present on the occasion. As is the most elaborate and expensive type of marriage, the poor Rana prefer other types prescribed by their society.

In case of *Ura* type of marriage, the lovers when forces any obstacle in their marriage either from their parents' side or from any other source, run away to some other village, preferably to a distant place where his or her relatives live. After staying there for more than three days, they come back to the house of the boy when their parents are pacified. After that they can live as wife and husband. Later on the father of the girl comes to demand the bride-price. The occasion is celebrated with a feast to the guests and the caste-members of the village.

The *Shokware* type of marriage, otherwise known as marriage by capture is very common among the Rana. It involves both ceremonial and physical aspects of girl for marriage. Very often capture takes place at the request of the boy or girl's parents to evade the exorbitant expenditures involved in the regular marriage. When both the boy and the girl give their consent and the parents agree to the proposal, the date and the probable place for capture are fixed. On the agreed day the boy accompanied by his village friends goes to carry away the girl who will be sent to that place under some pretext. The bride is expected to scream and to cry for help. On hearing a few persons come to visit and sometimes mock fighting takes place. On arrival at the boy's house, the girl is covered with a new saris as the binding rite to legalize the marriage. The girl's parents accompanied by the influential villagers come to demand the bride-price. After fixing the amount of bride-price, the guests are entertained in a feast.

Sometimes a girl is captured without the previous consent of the girl and her parents. In this case the capture of girl by a boy with the help of his friends takes place at the time inter-village dancing on the occasion of festival and marriage. When the parents of the girl come to know the incident, they along with the villagers come to the boy's village and demand the release of the girl who is kept hidden in the house of some other family. The girl's party shows and threatens the boy's family and ask the girl to come out. If the girl is unwilling, she forcibly comes out and surrenders herself. The boy's parents

at the first instance try to pacify the girl's party by feeding them with festive meals. If the girl is willing, she is asked three times to give her consent. Then the bride-price is fixed. If the girl is willing but her parents do not give their consent, the girl is covered with a new saris as the final step to complete the marriage. The occasion is celebrated with feasting, drinking, dancing and singing.

When a married woman runs away with another person or is being captured by another a compensation known as *Jagaria* is demanded by the previous husband.

In the *Polamendi* type of marriage a girl goes and enters into the house of the boy whom she loves but does not get his response. If the boy and his family do not like the idea, she is not allowed to stay with them. The villagers and the parents of the girl are immediately informed about the incidence with a request to induce the girl to return back to her house. The girl is thus forced to go back. Sometimes she is to face the criticism out of her decision. When the boy's family find her obstinate in her decision, she is allowed to stay. After three days, the boy and girl are regarded as husband and wife. The girl's parents do not come because they are embarrassed in a case.

The marriage by service is known as *Gharuan*. This type of marriage is preferred by the boy of a poor Rana who cannot afford to pay the bride-price. Under such circumstance a humble Rana has to serve in the family of his prospective father-in-law for three years. During this period he remains as a family member

When the stipulated period is over he marries the girl at the expense of the girl's family. After marriage the couple may return to boy's village or may stay, if they so desire in the girl's village by establishing a separate house. Sometimes a well-to-do father-in-law provides them with land and capital for cultivation. In such case they settle down there.

Religious Practices

Religious festivals observed by the Ranas are very few in number. In the month of Asvika (June-July) the festival of *Amkagundarhas* is celebrated collectively in the village. Collection of subscription is made to purchase a sheep and to meet the expenses of the worship. A wooden car of *Amrit* tree is constructed. At the outlet of the village a shed of twigs and leaves is built for the ceremony. The village priest known as *Pujari* drags the car to the outlet of the village and performs the puja. The goat is sacrificed and festive meals are prepared and taken. On the anniversary day of *Asvika* (June-July) they perform the ceremony of *Bindapana* and plant *Kenda*, *Shona*, *Chhara* branches in the paddy fields. Those who can afford to, sacrifice a fowl or offer a coconut in the paddy fields for a bumper crop. In the month of *Shukla* (August-September) the ceremony of first sowing of new rice is celebrated. When the up-land rice is ready for harvest an auspicious day is fixed. On that particular day, each family husk new rice in the closed room. The elder members of a Rana lineage whose wife is alive, offers food prepared from the new rice to the images of the ancestors. On that occasion festive

meals prepared from new rice are taken. In the month of *Kartika* (October-November) when the up-land rice is harvested, they perform the *Dhava* parish. All the families of the lineage perform the *plina masaka* collectively in the house of the eldest member of the lineage. While uttering the names of their dead ancestors head of each family places hillocks of new rice. Next day morning a woman of the lineage will fetch water without the knowledge of others to cook food. The cows and bullocks are fed with the cooked rice. The occasion is celebrated by drinking wine or rice-beer and festive meals.

The *Pua Parish* is observed on the full-moon day of the month of *Pua* (December-January). There is stock-taking of articles by the village youths. A goat is purchased collectively by the villagers and sacrificed in the village shrine. The whole night is spent in singing *sub* song and dancing *dhama* dance.

The most important festival is the *Chari* parish in the month of *Chari* (March-April) when the ceremonial hunting of the year takes place. All families excluding the Christians and Muslims observed it collectively. Preparation of foodgrains is started one week before the festival. A meeting of the village elders is conveyed and collection of subscription to meet the expenses of the ceremony is made. At the auspicious moment declared by the *Dhauri* a small quantity of seeds is carried by each family to the village shrine. The *Pujari* (village priest) will perform the worship and sacrifice a hog-goat to village deities. Then the seeds are distributed among the families.

Next morning, all the capable male members of the village will go for hunting to be led by the person, who is selected by the *Dharm*. On return from the forest, the *Pujari* worships the village deities. At the outskirts of the village, the party meet the animals killed on that day and eat. On the following day, they will deposit their weapons under a tree at the outskirts of the village and a mock-hunting takes place in the village. Next day the villagers go for water, hunting. Capable persons who do not join the hunting party are given one horse each by the village Panchayat and women will throw cowdung at them. A worship with an egg is performed for

Bana Durga (Forest deity) for success in hunting and then they proceed to the forest.

On their return from a successful hunt, women of the village go to welcome them with garlands of flower. The animals killed on the day are carried to the place of village Thakuran. The *Pujari* performs a puja and most of the animals are distributed among the hunters. Hunting will continue till they kill an animal.

During these days the villagers both men and women take liquor and continue to sing and dance all late in the night.

HUNTING AMONG THE PAURI BHUTNYAS OF KURJA, SUNDARGARH DISTRICT

The Bhutnyas

The Bhutnyas are one of the few tribes whose different branches represent various stages of cultural evolution from the most or less primitive culture of Hill Bhutnyas to the somewhat Hinduised plains Bhutnyas. Some of the Zamindar plains Bhutnyas have even claimed to have Rajput or Kshatriya descent. The Bhutnyas have an extensive distribution of varying numerical strength over a number of States like Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Chittoorgpur and Orissa, etc.

As a tribe they are found chiefly in two different stages of cultural development - the most primitive Hill or Pauri Bhutnyas of Kourghar, Birsa, and Parahara on one hand and more advanced plains Bhutnyas of Banra and Gangapur on the other.

The name "Bhutnya" seems to have been derived from the Sanskrit term "Bhūm", meaning land. Hence the Bhutnyas designate themselves either as the autochthones of the land or as the owners of land. They have a legend to support their association with the land which depicts how the Bhutnyas took one of the jars presented to them by *Dharmadev* at the time of the creation of Earth and sowing the seed they found that it was full of earth. So they tilled earth so be their wealth and called themselves Bhutnyas. They thus developed such strong link with

the land that it was considered to be more sacred and was revered more than the mother. The severe castigation - serious - visit by the Bhutnyas is by touching the earth only. It is believed that if one does false oath by holding soil in his hand he soon dies and becomes a part of the soil.

Judging from their racial and cultural activities the Bhutnyas are included in the Kol group by Mr. Scolding, Russell, Hutton, and Collett. In Orissa the Bhutnyas number 14,000. A number with their different sections of varying names. In Sundargarh the Pauri Bhutnyas are aware of at least seven such sections of the Bhutnya tribe. A list of their social hierarchy such sections are known as Bakhda Bhutnya, Sami Bhutnya, Bansa Bhutnya, Kanti Bhutnya, Mai Bhutnya, Pauri Bhutnya and Parhda Bhutnya. It is very difficult to get more or less distinctive such sections by non-acceptance of ritual food and the prohibition of marital relations between the sections are the two important features of grouping the various sections of the tribe. The last section, namely Bakhda Bhutnya are considered to be a separate tribe and the rest of the population may be broadly categorized as plains Bhutnyas and Pauri Bhutnyas. Socially, economically and culturally the latter lead a backward life most affected by the Hindu culture of the plains people and their name designate that they dwell on the hills. Pauri.

Population and Distribution
The Bhuiyās numbering 14,878 according to 1961 Census are

distributed over the various districts as follows.

Table showing the distribution of Bhuiya population in Orissa—

Sera, No.	Name of the district	Bhuiya population		
		Male	Female	Total
1	Konjar	76,478	76,208	152,686
2	Sundargarh	22,664	22,404	45,068
3	Mayurbhanj	14,946	4,650	19,596
4	Sambalpur	6,349	6,246	12,595
5	Dhenkanal	1,865	1,680	3,545
6	Kalahandi	1,661	1,661	3,322
7	Balasore	951	615	1,566
8	Cuttack	326	430	756
9	Koraput	187	177	364
10	Puri	176	171	347
11	Bolangir	110	49	159
12	Phulbani	20	18	38
Total		79,051	77,621	156,672

The Bhuiyās have lost their own language at present and speak a form of Oriya, which has peculiar pronunciations.

The Article

The present article describes the methods of hunting among the Puri Bhuiyās of Kutra, Sundargarh district.

The article aims at analysing the importance of hunting in the socio-economic life of the Bhuiyās and is bringing forth the change of traditional traits associated with hunting. The article is based on the data collected by interviewing 10 Puri Bhuiyās of Kutra and by witnessing a hunting ceremony in Jakhin.

Hunting

Bows and arrows constitute the only hunting implements of the Bhuiyans. Whenever a Paui goes out he takes a bow and a bunch of arrows with him just for safety in the jungle. On his way amidst thick forest, he may meet some prey and may kill it, but this may not be strictly viewed as hunting. Besides, on some off day a Bhuiyan may occasionally go in search of a hunt all by himself, but this phenomenon is so rare that individual hunting is given least attention in Bhuiyan society.

The communal hunting expeditions reveal interesting features of Bhuiyan social, economic and religious life. *Akhau Parikhi*, the annual hunting festival, marks the first day of hunting for the Bhuiyans. It is held on the third day of the moon in the month of Chait (*Akhau Tithi*).

The preceding evening, the *Nark* (village head man) meets the villagers in the *Darbar* (dormitory house) and informs them that they are to start on *Akhau Parikhi* on the following day. The men who wish to join in hunting observe continence and sleep away from their wives on the forenight. Early in the morning all assemble in the *Darbar* armed with their bows and arrows and with drums and sticks to drive out the games. The hunters bring seven bows, seven arrows, two chickens and offering materials like *Akate* (husked paddy) and turmeric powder to the *Nark*. The *Nark* worships the *Dharam Deva* (Sun God) *Banshi* (Earth Goddess) *Guruli* (Village deity) and *Agam* at the outskirts of the village and slaughters two chickens in their honour. He sprinkles the blood on the bows and arrows and prays "Today we are celebrating the *Akhau Parikhi* let the hunters meet all sorts of games on their way and let them be able to shoot down all". He also burns some incense and tobacco to please the forest and hill spirits (*Boghian* and *Banshi*) to ensure

success in hunting. The offered chickens are burnt and the person joining the hunting party are given little of such meat to eat before they start on hunting.

The only method adopted by the Bhuiyans in communal hunting is beating at the bushes and driving the animals. After reaching in the jungle the party splits off into two groups. The daring and fearless persons having hunting reputation in the past are selected as *Gharjar*. They sit on key places through which the animals are expected to pass and hide themselves behind the trees. The rest of the party beat at the bushes, shout at the peak of their voice, throw stones and make peculiar noises to drive the animal towards the *Gharjar*. As soon as the game runs near by the *Gharjar* they shoot it down by their bows and arrows. As soon as the game is bagged the *Dihari* (the village priest), or any elderly man (in the absence of the *Dihari*) takes some of the blood and offers to the *Dharam Devta*, *Banshi*, *Guruli*, *Sarun*, *Banshi* and *Agarika* and pray— "There we are offering the first blood of the slain animal. May we attain success in hunting in future". The man whose arrow kills the animal also takes some blood from the game and offers to his family ancestors praying for success in future hunting.

After the animal is skinned all go to the *Nark's* house with the game. They are greeted by the ladies who wash the feet of the hunters with turmeric water, anoint their forehead and chin with turmeric powder and kiss them.

The meat is cut down into pieces except the head of the animal, one loin, and hind quarter. One of the boys comes down secretly from a corner and imitates the gait of the slain animal. He is beaten by the leg of the animal on his back and is given the leg portion to fry and eat. Before the meat is distributed, some meat, the brain and hearts of the game are fried on ember and offered to the deities on

James leaves. Such offering is made thrice, i.e., on behalf of the persons who participated in the hunt, on behalf of the hunter whose arrow killed the animal and on behalf of the *Borabhai* (Villagers).

The two hind quarters of the game are presented to the *Ngek* as *Akhesi Bhesi* (presentation of the hunt) and one of the loins is offered to the hunter. The rest of the meat is equally divided into two shares. One share is equally distributed between all the members who joined in the hunting party and the other share is equally distributed between all the families of the village.

The *Ngek*, in return, rewards the hunter with a cloth of ten cubits if a *Sambar*, or pig of a deer is shot, and a *Gumchi* (napkin) for a *Kaner* (barking deer). In lieu of cloth he may give twelve annas for the long cloth, and four annas for the napkin. Besides, he offers a basketful of rice cakes to the members of the party both in successful and unsuccessful hunting.

The ceremonial hunting is observed for three consecutive days, i.e., the first day being the *Ngek's* day, the second for the *Dhori* and the third day for the *Borabhai* (villagers). The similar procedures are followed on all the day except that the *Ngek* presents the party with a basketful of rice cakes on the first day to carry with them to the forest and the village ladies offer munda cakes and rice cakes on the third day, i.e., the day observed for the villagers.

Conclusion

A study of the hunting practices of the Paori Bhuiyas and the associated rites and rituals throws much light on the various aspects of their life and culture. It tends to unfold the belief system of the people on the one hand and throws light on varying obligation between the members of different units of their social organization. The specific points of interest can briefly be stated in the following:—

(1) Hunting is more a religious observance than a quest of food for the Bhuiyas. The Bhuiyas lead a

lonely life on the hills surrounded by countless forest and hill spirits. To be safeguarded by these spirits, it is essential to please them at least once a year by the sacrifices and offerings. Hence, the Bhuiyas observe the ceremonial hunting of *Akhesi Parabhi* to avert the ill-will of the spirits and to please them by hunting some animals and offering their blood.

For a successful hunting ritual the Bhuiyas observe a series of taboos to maintain purity and sanctity. The persons whose wives are during their menstruation cycle are neither allowed to join in the hunting party, nor do they come to watch the ritual performed at the outskirts of the village to ensure success in hunting. On the previous night of the *Akhesi Parabhi* day, the persons desirous of joining in the hunting party observe strict continence and sleep in a separate bed from their wives. Just before starting for hunting the persons should not see the face of the menstruating ladies, which may spoil the chance of success in hunting.

The *Ngek* also observes continence on the previous night so as to enable himself to perform the ritual for the success in the hunting in the next morning. He offers chickens, husked rice and tumeric powder to the deities and bribes the spirits by burning incense and tobacco for a successful hunt.

(2) The various rites and rituals associated with hunting reflect on the belief system of the Paori Bhuiyas. Segregation of women from the hunting rituals is based on the idea that the presence of menstruating ladies will avert the spirits and the deities and may result in unsuccessful hunting. Hence every precaution is taken to avoid the ladies during the hunting expedition. Women, being the weaker sex, cannot very well practically go for hunting, but more particularly the fact that they suffer from periodical pollution debars the ir privilege to be associated in hunting.

The Brians believe in the causal relation between successful hunting and bumper harvest. According to their successful hunting during *Akani Pariki* indicates a rich harvest in the current year, and this belief keeps them alert to safeguard all the evils obstructing success in hunting.

(3) To assure successful hunting the Paumotu believe in and perform sympathetic rites. The two chickens sacrificed by the *Nak* just before the party starts on hunting is believed to contain the spiritual power of the gods and godlings to whom these are offered and if the members of the party eat a bit of such meat they soon possess such power and may thus be able to stay any game they meet.

The blood of the chickens, after sacrifice is also believed to carry such power and hence the *Nak* sprinkles it on seven bows and arrows just to help for the success in hunting.

The arrow which kills the animal is brought out from the body of the prey and is never washed in water. The bloodstained arrow-head is let to dry out. By doing so it is believed that the arrow would always kill more game in future and would remain bloodstained for ever.

After the game is killed and before the meat is distributed one of the members of the hunting party acts like the slain animal and imitates its gait. Crawling down he comes from a corner and passes by before the hunters. One of the members of the hunting party takes a leg of the game and hits the imitator back with it. This signifies that in future hunting no game can escape the look of the hunter and the hunters would be able to kill all the animals they meet.

Before the meat shares are distributed, the brain, hearts and some meat is roasted on ember and shares are offered to the spirits and the deities for whose favour they had a

success in hunting. The meat thus offered is considered sacred and is believed to carry the "power". The husbands of the menstruating ladies are not allowed to eat such meat. If any outsider eats such meat the real hunting power is believed to be transmitted to his body and the villagers may not have the good luck to have more success in hunting.

(4) Hunting is a perfect occasion where one can notice the interplay of various relations. Hunting is purely a communal affair, which involves co-operation of all the villagers. Each village has to hunt within its boundary demarcated from the time of the Raja. Since successful hunting indicates rich harvest, it becomes the duty of all the villagers to try heart and soul to make the hunting expedition a success. Generally each family deports one or more of its male members to participate in the hunting, and it is the responsibility of the village ladies to collect *masafu* and paddy from all the houses and prepare cakes for the party on the third day of the *Akani Pariki*.

Distribution of meat is made keeping in view the social and political life of the village. The hunter must get an extra share for his ability to kill the prey, but *Nak*, the head of the village, gets two hind quarters by dint of his status and authority in the village. The *Alifari* is not given any special portion of meat, but is always given an extra amount for holding an office in the village. All the families get shares of meat whether anyone participated in the hunting or not.

Getting extra meat, on part of the *Nak* is more of prestige value because the cost he has to bear for returning the gift of cloth and cakes to the hunters is much more than the actual cost of the meat he gets. It may also be noted that the *Nak* does not eat all the meat he gets as a special share. This meat is divided into three shares.

The *Nask* distributes one share between the families of his closer lineage group and gives the final share to rest of the families of the village. The hunter also distributes some meat from his special share between the families of his closer lineage group.

Recent changes in hunting practices

In course of time the Bhuiyaa are getting more modern in their outlook and are dropping out their traditional custom associated with hunting. Some of the Bhuiyaa have managed to acquire guns and are hunting games on their own sweet will. Hunting is gradually becoming more individualistic in nature. The man having a gun may give little meat to his villagers but he gets the major portion of the game and gets money for it.

Another marked change is noticed in the attitude of the Paurias for hunting. In the old days jungle was thick and the games were plenty all around. Hence, the chances of success in hunting was far greater than in the present days when most of the jungles around the Bhuiyaa country

are frequently cut down for shifting cultivation and the wild animals are rapidly decreasing in number. These difficulties, however, have least affected the age old belief system of the people, and they still observe the hunting ceremony with all its detail. Posts of new leaders have been created in the village, but the new leaders are never given special shares of meat in hunting. The *Nask* continues to enforce his traditional status in the village and get the hind quarters of the slain animal as usual. The amount of reward the *Nask* used to give to the hunter has, however, been increased. Since the price of the cloth which costed twelve annas in the good old days has now been increased to two or three rupees, the *Nask* now offers two rupees in lieu of the cloth instead of the twelve annas he used to pay in the past. The hunting customs and practices of the Pauri Bhuiyaa, as described in this article, however, does not apply to the life of the plains Bhuiyaa and may be different from the Pauri Bhuiyaa of Bhuiyapirk of Keonjhar, Orissa and Mayurbhanj districts, but the general trend may be almost identical.